

Written and spoken Judaeo-Arabic in 19th-century Egypt

With an edition, translation and grammatical
study of *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*

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Abstract

This thesis presents an edition, translation and grammatical study of three Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts comprising the story *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma* ‘The Story of the Skull’, where typical features of the Jewish variety of Arabic, written and spoken in Egypt during the 19th century, are outlined. Special attention is paid to the dichotomy between the substandard varieties Middle Arabic, Non-Standard Cairene and spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic on one side, and the varieties Standard Arabic and Standard Cairene on the other side. In addition to a number of acknowledged Jewish features attested in the material, new orthographic observations have been made of *r* as a reflex of emphatic *l*, e.g. in the spelling of *allāh* > *arrāh* ‘God’ and *ʔittallaʕ fī* > *ʔittarraʕ fī* ‘look closely at’, never before attested in written form.

Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma was originally written in Arabic, only later to be translated to Judaeo-Arabic. The story is reminiscent of the *qiṣaṣ al-ʔanbiyāʔ* genre, which presents the pre-Islamic prophets from a popular, yet Islamic perspective. The Judaeo-Arabic versions, however, are evidently of Jewish influence, both in terms of narrative and linguistic content.

The Judaeo-Arabic language comprises a continuum of Arabic varieties used by Jews living or formerly living in Arabic speaking countries. Their unique sociolinguistic situation makes Judaeo-Arabic relevant to the study of Arabic linguistics, most importantly the history of the Arabic language and its different written and spoken varieties.

Written Judaeo-Arabic is closely connected to the substandard spectrum of written varieties called Middle Arabic, incorporating elements of Classical Arabic, dialect, pseudo-corrected features, and the standardization of such features. Because it is written in Aramaic-Hebrew script, it may reveal substandard phonetic, morphologic, lexical and syntactic features, unlike the conventional and strictly established Arabic orthography. This becomes especially evident in cases of close phonetic spelling, which is also the case for the present material.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Judaeo-Arabic texts: Exhibiting a wide specter of written and spoken varieties

The study of Judaeo-Arabic (henceforth JA) manuscripts provides an opportunity to analyze stages of literary standards on one side and spoken varieties on the other, with reference to the linguistic history of Arabic, dialectology and the case of diglossia. Here, we may speak of Judaeo-Arabic ethnolects or religiolects, varieties used by a distinct religious community, comprising elements of Classical Arabic, dialectal components as well as standard and non-standard pseudo-corrected features.¹ A specter of varieties may be found within both of the categories of written and spoken language.² Naturally, we speak of Arabic dialects, differing from one another based on their geographical location. But we may also say that these dialectal varieties differ within; a wide specter of sociolects may be found within every dialectal variety. Furthermore, these sociolects differ from author to author and speaker to speaker, depending on a number of external factors and individual intentions. These are e.g. the writer's attitude towards the standard variety's status and function, i.e. its written norms, puristic grammar and political, religious or ethnic recognition. Another important factor is the *domain*, pertaining to and determining the use of a particular language in a particular situation. In other words, every single variety is shaped and refined within the social, ethnic or religious groups in which they are spoken.

¹ Hary 1992:xiii. Pseudo-corrected features are discussed in chapter 2.4.1.

² An extensive discussion on the issue of the (connected but also diverging) entities of written and spoken language, is found in Wagner 2010:2ff.

In the study of the Arabic language, especially in sociolinguistics where we are dealing with the two polar varieties ‘High’ and ‘Low’³ on the diglossic continuum, we find vast phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between literary Standard Arabic (henceforth StA)⁴ and spoken dialects from around the Arabic speaking world. In general, there is a clear dichotomy between the spoken dialect on one side, and StA on the other.

However, not all spoken and written varieties fit into this dichotomy on the diglossic continuum, like those used by Christians and Jews; Non-Muslim communities may have a desire to segregate themselves linguistically from the Muslim population and to create their own sociolects or religiolects. As a result, these communities’ written varieties will not be as closely aligned with Muslim religious literature (which is a cornerstone of the prevalent StA normative). Hence, JA texts may exhibit a register closer to the spoken variety, and features that are neither dialectal nor StA, but rather a variety found somewhere along the Arabic continuum.⁵

JA texts, especially those involving prose, are important tools when studying historical linguistics, various literary standards and dialectology. This is not only because of the ‘special case’ of the Arabic speaking Jews (mentioned above), but also because JA texts are written in the Aramaic-Hebrew script. This potentially reveals numerous deviations from StA on phonetic, morphologic, lexical and syntactic level—deviations that may be more difficult to detect or only hypothetically attested in Arabic script because of its conventional written norms concealing colloquial distinctions. Depending, of course, on the author or scribe’s orthographic style and preferences, JA texts may therefore exhibit elements not usually possible to detect in Arabic script.

³ As put forward by Ferguson (1959a). A discussion of the terms ‘High’ and ‘Low’ can be found in chapter 2.2.

⁴ An explanation of the term Standard Arabic is given in chapter 2.1.

⁵ Wagner 2010:5

1.2 The thesis

This paper provides philological and sociolinguistic discussions and an overview of relevant scholarly works on the issues presented above (chapter 2). After that, a historical review of the Jews of 19th-century Cairo and their storytelling tradition is given (chapter 3). Next are the two main chapters of the thesis, namely a critical text, apparatus and English translation of three versions of the story *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma* (*Quṣṣat ilGumguma* as it is pronounced in Egyptian Arabic) ‘The Story of the Skull’ (chapter 4), followed by a linguistic analysis providing a relevant grammar of the content found in the three manuscripts (chapter 5). Finally, some concluding remarks on the linguistic analysis are given (chapter 6).

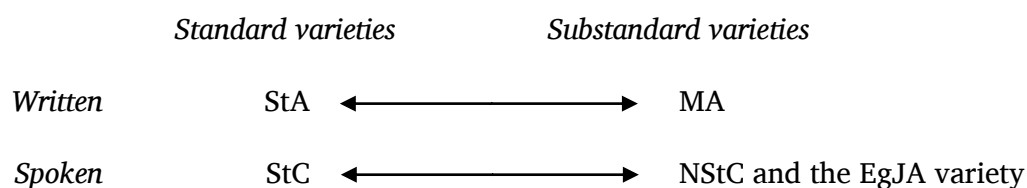
In Blanc’s (1974) study on the register of the spoken variety extant in the Jewish community of Cairo, he made a point out of not labeling the variety ‘Jewish Cairene’, but rather ‘Non-Standard Cairene’ (henceforth NStC). This NStC variety is believed to have fallen into disuse over time, retained only by Jews. However, although holding exclusive Jewish communal features within Cairo, these features may also occur in other spoken varieties outside Cairo,⁶ thus it does not represent an exclusive Jewish or communal feature. After Blanc’s pioneering work, Rosenbaum (2002a; 2002b) have been studying the variety he refers to as the spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic dialect (referring to this variety, I will henceforth be using the term coined by Rosenbaum [2002b], i.e. EgJA), aiming to fill in a gap by identifying features exclusively found in the spoken variety of the Jewish community in Cairo and Alexandria.⁷ His work is based on data elicited from informants still familiar with their spoken EgJA variety. Today there are almost no Jews remaining in Egypt, and during a recent, personal

⁶ According to Blanc (1974:211), the A-form and the N-form (see chapter 5.2.3.1 for examples from my material and a discussion on the topic) is found in Lower as well as Upper Egypt, in urban as well as rural areas, in sedentary as well as Bedouin varieties, and in *gāl*-dialects as well as *qāl*-dialects.

⁷ As Rosenbaum points out (2002b:35), the vast majority of Egyptian Jews were living in the cities of Cairo and Alexandria in the 20th century.

conversation with him in Jerusalem, he estimated the chances of finding Egyptian Jews today who are still employing this particular variety to be extremely small.

The endeavor of the thesis is to identify and highlight phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features relevant to the Jewish substandard variety spoken in 19th-century Cairo (and by all accounts, Alexandria)—by means of three 19th-century prosaic JA texts—which might reveal unique Jewish communal variety features, as well as the Jewish community’s contemporary Middle Arabic literary style (henceforth MA).⁸ These features will be compared to and studied in the light of the spoken Standard Cairene (which has the function of being the standard Egyptian dialect, henceforth referred to as StC⁹) and the written Standard Arabic variety (StA), as illustrated in the following diagram:



With a risk of repeating myself, the aim here is to distinguish non-standard features from standard ones, both written and spoken, which implies that I will identify and single out genuine MA, NStC and EgJA features found in the three manuscripts and examine them in parallel with previous scholarly work on the topic—aiming to document as many features as possible deviating from the spoken StC and written StA normative.

Much has been written on Early and Classical JA, for the most part by means of the pioneering work of Joshua Blau. However, beyond Blanc’s aforementioned article from 1974, little has been written on later and modern Egyptian JA sources in general, and the

⁸ An explanation of the term Middle Arabic is given in chapter 2.4

⁹ An explanation of the term Standard Cairene is given in chapter 2.3.1.

EgJA variety in particular.¹⁰ No comprehensive grammar on the topic exists today as far as I know. By means of this thesis, I wish to contribute to the composition of monographic works as such, and contribute to widen the searchable corpora of JA texts, in order for further systematic studies of written and spoken varieties to be carried out in the future. In the following, I will draw general conclusions on the manuscripts' orthographic and linguistic content, and define their language synchronically by their historical period and linguistic level, regarding both the spoken and the written variety.

1.3 The process of collecting and studying the material

Preliminary to the writing I was inspired by an article on a JA text of the *Qiṣaṣ al-ʿAnbiyāʾ* genre (Edzard 2012) that I read during my courses on medieval JA texts. Because of my knowledge of the Egyptian Arabic dialect, it was natural to look for something related to this variety. Dr. Esther-Miriam Wagner from the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit at the University of Cambridge made me aware of the vast amount of 18th and 19th-century JA manuscripts from Egypt. Prof. Benjamin Hary, a pioneer scholar in the field of Jewish religiolects, encouraged me to search through the Cairo Collection¹¹ for relevant corpora. Here, I found *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*, and noticed that it was not included in his work on the *isrāʿīliyyāt*,¹² and he personally suggested that I take a look at the story, as it could be of great interest. I was lucky to find another two JA versions of the story in the database of Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Israeli National Library in Jerusalem, both belonging to the Karaite community in Israel. In addition, there turned out to be an original, quite similar Muslim-Arabic version of the story, relatively easy to find. The three

¹⁰ cf. Hary 1992:xiv; Rosenbaum 2002b:35; Khan 2006:37. For a list of works in (not *on*) Modern Judaeo-Arabic, see Corré 1989.

¹¹ More on the Cairo Collection in chapter 4.

¹² Hary is currently preparing this for publication, cf. Hary 2009:64

JA manuscripts constitute the primary sources for this thesis, i.e. with the exception of secondary literature, the thesis is solely based on written material.¹³

When corresponding with Prof. Hary and the Karaite community in Israel, I learned that little or nothing significant had been written on the linguistic character of the manuscripts. In the following period, I interpreted the three manuscripts and transliterated each one separately in Modern Hebrew letters. The three transliterations were aligned in a synopsis, which helped me identify the orthographic and linguistic differences in the material. In turn, these differences were noted in the apparatus along with other visible differences between the manuscripts.¹⁴ An idiomatic translation of the base text¹⁵ was made, the theoretical framework laid as a basis for further interpretation, and a linguistic analysis written. The linguistic analysis very much follows the same methodological approach as found in Hary (1992) and Wagner (2010), of whose work I am a great admirer.

1.4 Technical notes

When rendering StA, Latin transcription standards according to the system of Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL) are followed.¹⁶ Case endings are normally applied, albeit not in the end of a sentence: *ṣahrūn ʿaḥmaru wa-ṣahrūn ʿabyad*.¹⁷ Because the thesis is exclusively based on written sources, the use of phonetic symbols are avoided.

When appearing, syllable boundaries are indicated with a dot (/ka.ta.ba.ki.tā.ban/). For

¹³ See chapter 5.1 for a discussion on the different aspects associated with studying JA written material.

¹⁴ Prof. Ofra Tirosh-Becker at the Hebrew University deserve sincere thanks for helping me with the methodology of this careful process.

¹⁵ Of reasons explained in chapter 4, the GAM manuscript was chosen to represent the base text. In parts of the manuscript where the language is unclear, the two other manuscripts are used to achieve a reasonable understanding and translation.

¹⁶ A detailed description of the transcription of Arabic is found in Reichmuth 2009.

¹⁷ Phonemic representation is according to EALL standards, with the exception of *ḍ*. Here I have chosen to use *ḡ*, as it seemed more natural when rendering both the Egyptian pronunciation of StA, and the Egyptian colloquial varieties.

transcription of the StC, NStC and the EgJA variety, standards are in accordance with those given in Fischer and Jastrow (1980:11ff.). The aim is to accurately represent the varieties' phonetics, but at the same time to reflect their relationship with StA. Therefore I have tried my best to render pronunciation by means of phonemes found in the StA system of transcription, with the addition of a few new symbols, e.g. diacritics to represent prosodic features, and letters and sounds that are not usually found in StA such as *ē* and *ə*. According to the standards of EALL, articles are not hyphenated (*iššams*, not *iš-šams*),¹⁸ but I cannot find a good reason not to indicate morpheme boundaries, hence articles are hyphenated *iš-šams*. The same are other morpheme boundaries. Latin transcription of Hebrew is done according to EHLL standards.

I have predominantly used Latin script and EALL phonemes when rendering isolated sounds, and Arabic script to render examples of StA, but some parts are transliterated in Latin letters, e.g. when dealing with names of letters¹⁹ and grammatical terms, when illustrating assimilation, ambiguous grammatical affixes and stems, or in other situations where it has been found it necessary.

It goes without saying that the following is object to editing and translation mistakes, writing errors and intentional modification. In connection to this, I take full responsibility.

¹⁸ See Reichmuth 2009.

¹⁹ I have predominantly used the names of the Arabic letters, not their Hebrew equivalents, because the manuscripts are written predominantly in an Arabic variety.

1.5 Abbreviations

In this thesis, the following abbreviations are used:²⁰

CA – Classical Arabic

CAI – Cairo – Jewish Communities 104 (name of manuscript)

GAM – Ramle – Rabbi Yosef Algamil (name of manuscript)

JA – Judaeo-Arabic

EgJA – spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic

KAR – Ramle – The Karaite community in Israel 42 (name of manuscript)

MA – Middle Arabic

MSA – Modern Standard Arabic

StA – Standard Arabic

StC – Standard Cairene

NStC – Non-Standard Cairene

²⁰ For technical symbols found in the critical edition, see 4.2.1.2.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

2.1 *From Old Arabic to New Arabic*

As JA and MA in general represent the different intermediate dimensions of the Arabic language,²¹ a natural way to start drawing the theoretical framework for this thesis is to look at the different Arabic varieties (those known to scholars) from a chronological viewpoint.²² Ancient or Old Arabic refers to the earliest known examples of the Arabic language, presumably dating back to the 4th century. These are so-called ‘epigraphic evidence’, consisting of a number of Arabic documents transcribed in scripts normally used to write in other languages, like Sabaic, Nabataean and Aramaic. Furthermore, there are attestations of a few Arabic words in late Nabataean graffiti, discovered in northwest Arabia.²³ Other examples are the pre-Islamic poetry’s oral traditions²⁴ preceding the 6th century that were preserved and written down by Arab grammarians during the 8th century. According to Hary (1987:11), Old Arabic was not a standardized language, but was codified and ‘sealed’ by the 8th-century grammarians, into what today is to be referred to as Classical Arabic (CA)—to which the *Qurʾān* probably has been the single most influential literary work. Even though there are lexical and stylistic differences, as well as different rules for reading out loud, the strictly codified CA serves as the basis for the conventional (official written) Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) used throughout the Arab world today. The *rasm*, i.e. the ‘plain outline’ or the ‘skeleton’ of the word in MSA is deliberately written in its CA form; we

²¹ The intermediate varieties of the Arabic language are discussed in general terms in chapter 2.2, and in the framework of the Middle Arabic variety in 2.4. Following Ferguson’s article “Diglossia” (1959a), a number of scholars like Blanc 1960, Kaye 1972 and Badawī 1973 (to mention just a few) have contributed to this discussion.

²² An introduction to the history of the Arabic language is given in Retsö (1990).

²³ Macdonald 2008:465

²⁴ The pre-Islamic poetry’s oral traditions, as well as the *Qurʾān* and *ʿAyyam al-ʿArab* were first preserved orally, only later to be written down, cf. Macdonald 2008:465

may say that MSA is the direct descendant of CA.²⁵ This implies that when written, orthographic conventions may disguise the writer's/speaker's distinguished vernacular characteristics, usually so evident when pronounced. These conventions more or less apply to all written variants of the Arabic Language. The *irregularities* of written Arabic on the other side, e.g. when compared to written CA, will be discussed in detail later in the present chapter, and in chapter 5. Henceforth, the term Standard Arabic (StA) will predominantly be used when referring to the 'High', Classical and Modern Standard Arabic variety, also referred to as *al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*.

Historically, New Arabic²⁶—the Arabic dialects—developed and diverged as partial result of gradual and spontaneous change of lifestyle, and population movement within and outside the Arabic Peninsula in times after the 6th century, to give a *terminus post quem*. Versteegh (1984:35ff.) suggests three stages in which the Arabic dialects might have emerged: In the first stage, inhabitants of the newly conquered territories at first learned 'make-shift' varieties of Arabic ('pidginization') that were used in marriages with women whose native language was Berber, Persian, Aramaic etc. The second stage was characterized by a process of nativization of the variety ('creolization') by means of these new inhabitants' children. Later on, in the third stage, this creole language was affected by the standardized form of the native speakers of Arabic ('decreolization'). Concerning the latter, he suggests that Arabic dialects represent a "[...] radical restructuring of the entire linguistic structure of the Arabic language" (1984:35). His hypothesis has received some criticism (see e.g. Heath 1986; Jastrow 2002). For example, Heath (1986:952f.) points out that the idea of Arabic dialects as general community-wide pidgins that turns into creoles are difficult to accept,

²⁵ Ryding 2011:844f.

²⁶ New (or Neo) Arabic refers to dialects for everyday communication, cf. Blau 1988:1ff.

and uses the example of Morocco and Iraq (which show few remains of radical²⁷ reshaping of stem forms, lexical meaning and the like) to prove his point.²⁸ Jastrow calls Versteegh's model a 'blatant overstatement' "[...] not applicable to all Arabic islands [...] let alone the dialects of Zone II and I" (2002:349).²⁹

The Arabic dialects, as opposed to the Old Arabic we know today, have almost never been isolated: Religious pilgrimages, trade caravans, markets, alliances and migratory work has brought together people from different tribes and sub-tribes.³⁰ Geographically, we are dealing with three 'zones', (I) namely parts of the Arabic Peninsula (where Arabic was spoken before Islam), (II) the southern Peninsula, the Levant, Egypt, North Africa, Iraq and parts of Iran (where Arabic language expanded as a result of the Islamic conquest) and (III) the geographical peripheries (Arabic speaking, but somehow isolated societies in present-day Iran, Central-Asian areas like Uzbekistan and Afghanistan, Malta, Cyprus, as well as areas influenced by trade and conquest in Africa).³¹ Dialects from the first and the second zone enjoy strong influence from StA, especially in urban areas, whereas dialects from the third do not. Within Arabic dialectology, one may distinguish between Bedouin on one side and sedentary on the other, and within the sedentary, we separate between urban and rural. According to the old Arab grammarians, the status of the urban vernaculars is somewhat underappreciated when compared to Bedouin dialects and StA. According to Sībawayhi, Bedouin dialects, e.g. the one spoken by *ʾahl al-ḥijāz* 'the people of Ḥijāz' was considered

²⁷ My emphasis.

²⁸ See also Versteegh's counterarguments, in Versteegh 2004.

²⁹ The term 'Arabic islands' is used by Jastrow to describe Zone III. The terms Zone I, II and III are explained in the following paragraph.

³⁰ Watson 2011:852ff.

³¹ Jastrow 2002:348f.

more ‘pure’, and closer to the normative language of the *Qurʾān*.³² Likewise, the urban dialects were considered somehow corrupted, by mixed populations and the presence of non-Arabic speakers.³³

It is important to note that Old Arabic is not believed to have been a single variety, but to have comprised many distinct dialects.³⁴ The majority of today’s scholars believe that ancient literary (Old) Arabic and colloquial Arabic were two distinct entities.³⁵ Until today the different dialects have been shaped and affected by interaction of different Arabic varieties with adstrate³⁶ and substrate³⁷ languages for almost 15 centuries. Subsequently, as more dialects and varieties are discovered and studied, making comparative reconstructions becomes more challenging—an even more complex picture of the Arabic dialectal patterns and its origin emerges.

2.2 The case of diglossia

In his 1959 article “Diglossia”, Ferguson introduced the notion of a ‘High’ and a ‘Low’ variety carefully demonstrating the linguistic distinctions found in a few speech communities—among them Arabic—on the strictly complimentary distribution of formal vs. informal usage, i.e. *al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā* vs. *al-ʿāmmiyya*. Ferguson’s diglossia is sharply in

³² In his famous grammar *al-Kitāb*, he wrote: “*wa-daʿāhum sukūnu l-ʿāxiru fī l-miṭḥalayni ʿanna bayyana ʿahlu l-ḥijāz fī l-jazmi fa-qālū urduda wa-lā tardud wa-hiya l-luḡatu l-ʿarabiyyatu l-qadīmatu l-jayyidatu wa-lākin banī tamīm ʿadḡamū*” ‘final *sukūn* made the people of Ḥijāz [...] pronounce the jussive, saying *urduda wa-la tardud*, which is the good, old Arabic language, whereas the sons of Tamīm put [the two letters] together’ (Derenbourg 1881-1889:474).

³³ See e.g. Corriente 1976:63ff.; Miller 2011:983f.

³⁴ MacDonald 2008:464

³⁵ Versteegh 2001:46f; Watson 2011:858

³⁶ An adstrate refers to one language in contact with another, in a neighbor population, without having identifiably higher or lower prestige.

³⁷ A substrate is a language which has lower power or prestige than another, as opposed to a superstrate, that has higher power or prestige.

contrast to bilingualism, as its ‘High’ and ‘Low’ varieties are used side by side in a speech community, each with a clearly defined role,³⁸ not to forget that the ‘High’ variety is superimposed and never exclusively spoken by anyone.³⁹ Thus, we may refer to two types of diglossia: One ‘narrow’ (aforementioned as Ferguson’s diglossia)⁴⁰ and one ‘extended’, as put forward by Fishman (1971:73ff.), seeking to relate the research traditions of bilingualism and diglossia. He considers diglossia to cover a broader spectrum of speech communities, “in societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind” (1971:74). Some scholars have also argued for a more nuanced distinction of the term diglossia, like e.g. Mitchell (1986) who discusses the complex stylistic scope of ‘Educated Arabic’, not to forget Badawī (1973). Badawī suggests a continuum of five levels (shading into each other gradually) ranging from the most literal style to the most colloquial (respectively *fuṣḥā t-turāṭī* ‘Classical Arabic’; *fuṣḥā l-‘aṣr* ‘Modern Standard Arabic’; *‘āmmiyyat al-mutaqqafīn* ‘Educated Spoken Arabic’; *‘āmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn* ‘Semi-literate Spoken Arabic’; *‘āmmiyyat al-‘ummiyyīn* ‘Illiterate Spoken Arabic’).⁴¹ Other scholars, like Hary (1992; 2009) has re-evaluated diglossia through the use of the term ‘multiglossia’, pointing out that it “more accurately reflect[s] the existence of more than two varieties of the language” (1992:3).

We are not only dealing with standard written Arabic on one side and spoken Arabic on the other, but a multitude of distinct registers extant between the two poles. The context of the language greatly depends on the interaction between two interlocutors, or between writer and reader, which leads to a large number of distinct spoken and written varieties,⁴² and however one may consider the diglossic case of Arabic, ‘narrow’ or ‘extended’, the

³⁸ Ferguson 1959a:328

³⁹ Ferguson 1959a:331

⁴⁰ See also Fergusons own revised thoughts on the topic in Ferguson 1996 (1991).

⁴¹ Badawī 1973:89ff.

⁴² As described in Wagner 2013:262f.

dichotomy between written and spoken Arabic that diglossia addresses, is one of the Arabic language's most striking features.

2.2.1 Leveling processes in Arabic

2.2.1.1 Code-mixing/switching

Concerning the nature of language leveling in everyday social interactions, scholars prefer to focus on the mixed nature of the varieties between the two poles 'High' and 'Low', a phenomenon which may be referred to as code-mixing/switching. This is, in brief terms, the use of two or more varieties (codes) in the same conversation. An important focus in studies of code-switching has been to illustrate differences in types of code-switching and explain the choice of codes—i.e. what 'rights and obligations' participants in a conversation have and do not have in the process of negotiating and making choices. The markedness (or unmarkedness) of the code choice are naturally associated with, adjusted to and depending on social features which are "salient to the exchange, such as status of the participants, the topic, etc." (Myers-Scotton 1986:404). However, as Myers-Scotton points out, perceptions of markedness are not categorical but rather gradient; they may differ between speech communities as well as between participants.⁴³

2.2.1.2 Identifying and predicting code choices

Code-mixing is not considered a phenomenon based on grammar, but rather a spontaneously generated construct.⁴⁴ In e.g. (oral) morphophonology, we find that dialectal grammatical affixes combined with Standard stems are normal (e.g. *yitqarrar*; *ʔiqāmit*; *li-taḥqīq-u*)⁴⁵ but

⁴³ Myers-Scotton 1986:404

⁴⁴ Ryding 2006:669

⁴⁵ The examples are found in Mejdell 2012:238. Similar examples are found e.g. in Holes 1995:297f., Mejdell 2008:62ff. and Hary 1992:20ff.

combining affixes and stems the other way around, i.e. Standard grammatical affixes applied to dialectal stems (**ʔultu laha* ‘he told her; **mbayyinuna* ‘they look like...’; **bastannākumā* ‘I am waiting for [the two of] you’),⁴⁶ as well as the violation ‘normal’ functional constraints (**māḍā* ‘āwiz StA ‘what’ + Egyptian Arabic ‘want’), would be perceived as most awkward.⁴⁷

We perceive the code choices generating pure vernacular or conventional written StA as predictable and normative, e.g. Egyptian Arabic ‘āwiz or ‘āyiz ʔē(h) and StA mā(ḍā) turid. Nevertheless, when codes are mixed, say, StA rendered orally, (e.g. mā tarid or māzā turid) the variation in the code-mixing becomes more difficult, or even impossible to predict.⁴⁸

With regard to this, Kaye (2001:127) distinguishes between straight (unambiguous) basilectic colloquial dialect; (unambiguous) acrolectic StA; and the countless, (ambiguous) mesolectic ‘in between’ variations on the other side.⁴⁹ This point may be applied to the standard (StA and StA) vs. the substandard (MA, NStC and EgJA) varieties where we occasionally encounter highly ambiguous mesolectic variations in the substandard varieties—especially evident in pseudo-corrections. It should be borne in mind, however, that pseudo-correct features predominantly occur in written form.

Myers-Scotton’s (1986) model on code-choice primarily concerns speech communities, but may also be relevant to mixed written varieties. Especially (but not exclusively), her thoughts (rule) on ‘switching as an overall unmarked choice’ may prove important: Two or more codes constitute the unmarked choice, when more than one identity is salient for the rights and obligations to participants in a conversation.⁵⁰ I will try to verify this point in the following, especially concerning the different scribe’s diverging choice of register for their

⁴⁶ Here, I have used my own examples.

⁴⁷ See Kaye 2001:120; Mejdell 2012:238

⁴⁸ Kaye 2001:127

⁴⁹ See also Hary 1992:12f.

⁵⁰ Myers-Scotton 1986:406ff.

respective manuscripts, where more than one choice seem to constitute the (salient) unmarked choice.

2.3 *Dialect contact and ‘koineization’*

Dealing with speech communities on a larger scale, and when trying to explain the change from Old Arabic to Modern (especially urban) dialects, some scholars have suggested the idea of an urban koine. The term ‘koine’ refers to a communicative Arabic variety, especially used in interdialectal situations. Ferguson (1959b) suggests that this Arabic variety may not have descended from CA nor from the dialect of a single center, but rather emerged as an interdialectal standard—a sort of *lingua franca*—during the first centuries of the Islamic conquest.⁵¹ Others, like Corriente (1976:88) suggests an earlier, commercial koine preceding the Islamic era, emerging from Nabaṭī Arabic.

2.3.1 *Standard Cairene and the spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic variety*

Concerning the JA and MA focus of this paper, Miller (2011:985) notes something very important on koineization: “‘Old’ sedentary urban dialects associated with the initial phase of Arabization/urbanization in the first centuries of the expansion of Islam (7th-10th centuries) are considered to have kept the most ‘innovative’ features. They are still found in a number of Arab cities, *often retained by small groups of old-city dwellers*⁵² and, in most cases, *surviving variants/variables rather than fully discrete varieties*⁵³”. Knowing that old sedentary urban dialects at times have been retained only by Jewish or Christian minorities (see e.g. Blanc 1964), the large amount of available JA and MA sources have been, and may still prove to be invaluablely important when searching for and identifying these old sedentary

⁵¹ Ferguson 1959b:617

⁵² My emphasis.

⁵³ My emphasis.

‘innovative’ features. One should keep in mind, however, that in cities like Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul, migration during the 14th-20th century did produce a leveling of the urban vernacular, albeit without such radical transformation and subject to a leveling-bedounization process as it did in the old urban dialects in Maghreb, Mesopotamia and Bahrain.⁵⁴

Woidich (1994:506) describes StC as a ‘Central Delta’ dialect comprising features pertaining to neighboring regions. According to him, modern StC might be the result of a leveling process that occurred in the second part of the 19th century. Massive population migration, renewal of the population due to the agricultural reforms, Muhammad Ali’s urban reforms, and the plagues of the 19th centuries are some of the most important factors (1994:500f.). It is important to note here that StC contain a number of features not present in the rural dialects.⁵⁵ The fact that most of the migrants came from areas in close proximity to Cairo, and spoke a sedentary rural variety close to StC, may explain why the degree of StC leveling was not so radical after all. Blanc (1964; 1974) perceives the urban sedentary variety of religious groups in cities like Cairo, Damascus and Mosul to be more or less the same as the Muslim varieties, as he recorded little variation correlated to religious affiliation here. In his view, the spoken EgJA variety used in Cairo and Alexandria⁵⁶ is merely part of a NStC variety if a distinct variety at all, arguing that “[...] it is quite difficult for anyone to say with certainty that a given utterance will be spoken in a given way by a Jew, in another way by a Muslim, and in a third way by a Christian. A similar situation seems to occur in Aleppo and Cairo, though to an even lesser degree” (Blanc 1964:14). Although the pre-20th-century

⁵⁴ Miller 2004:182ff.

⁵⁵ Woidich 1994:507

⁵⁶ The vast majority of Egyptian Jews were living in the cities of Cairo and Alexandria in the 20th century, according to Rosenbaum (2002b:35).

Cairo quarters are described as relatively segregated with regard to religion and ethnicity,⁵⁷ there is no indication that Christian and Jewish Cairene varieties could represent an ‘older urban form’ when compared to the Muslim StC.⁵⁸

Dialectal differences among religious groups are often problematic; they may be influenced by the dominant variant spoken in their area, other by the religious community’s sacred or liturgical language. The differences between religious communities seems to be more marginal than those among e.g. social groups. Blanc characterizes the differentiation between Muslim and Jewish Cairene varieties as either *non-existent* or *minor*, pointing out that “[...] (a) differentiation is primarily marginal to the linguistic structure, and (b) there is fluctuation in usage and poor correlation of differences with religious affiliation” (1964:14). However, there are differences reported, which seem to have originated in migration, and later preserved by social distance.⁵⁹

The paragraphs above raises important questions, as religious-based varieties in ‘traditional’ Arab cities often have been regarded one of the main factors of sociolinguistic diversity:⁶⁰ Does Muslim StC in itself represent older urban ‘innovative’ features associated with the first phase of the Arabization, because a radical leveling of StC never took place? Did the Christian and Jewish NStC varieties go through the same leveling process as Muslim StC? Will we be able to prove variation correlated to religious affiliation in the case of Cairo? Usually, the evolution of urban vernaculars as such is reflected (in varying degrees) in a

⁵⁷ Abu Lughod (1971:56) writes: “Born in the nineteenth century, adolescent in the twentieth, modern Cairo had as its birthright [...] the basic framework of its regional pattern—three centers which were to coalesce but never quite blend; the basic framework of its social and ecological organization—diverse ethnic, religious, and class divisions which were to subdivide the modern city in much the same way they had fragmented the medieval one”. The Egyptian Jews’ social status will be further discussed in chapter 3.

⁵⁸ Miller 2004:188

⁵⁹ Blanc 1964:13

⁶⁰ Miller 2004:189

number of contemporary linguistic variations, as well as in communal variables (i.e. religious, ethnic or regional affiliation) as well as in social variables (i.e. age, sex, education and social class). As far as we know today, these communal variables does not seem to have affected the EgJA variety, but to quote Hary discussing Jewish and ‘judaicized’ languages in general, “the initial adoption of a local language was an attempt to assimilate into the surrounding environment and to speak like the local inhabitants, but after the language had established itself as Jewish with its Hebrew script and Hebrew and Aramaic linguistic elements, it became a symbol of Jewish identity and an actual obstacle to assimilation” (1992:73). The possibility of a distinct Jewish variety or at least a number of unique Jewish variants diverging from the StC variety, will be carefully studied in the linguistic analysis (chapter 5) of this thesis.

2.4 Middle Arabic

Various scholars have provided definitions of MA. The term was first coined by Fleischer in his *Kleinere Schriften* (1888:155), where, in very general terms, he applied the term (*Mittelarabisch*) to a ‘common language’ that coincided with the overcurrents (Ueberströmen) of Arabic in Persian and Turkish.⁶¹ Fück, mainly adopted the terminology to varieties of Christian and Jewish Arabic (and to some extent Muslim Arabic), reflecting colloquial features, arguing that “the colloquial language, spoken by the lower and middle classes of the urban populations since the days of its origin in the early days of the Islamic conquest, in terms of language history, has been Middle Arabic [...]. Jews and Christians of the Orient on the other hand, who were living in entirely different literary traditions than their Muslim environment, had for a long time no part in the Islamic culture, and started using, as soon as they could write Arabic, not the [‘]Arabiy[y]a, but the colloquial language

⁶¹ I am uncertain about exactly what Fleischer means with this.

of their own time. Therefore the most ancient Christian-Arab memorials from until the 9th century, are also of great interest in Arab language history. In these sources, we have access to the first contiguous texts written in Middle Arabic” (1950:57). To this, he adds that the true nature of Middle Arabic, and the real difference in relation to the classical language can be found in a structural change, which exterior feature is the function of the *ʾi-rāb*. Thereby, Middle Arabic “steered into the paths where all other Semitic languages long since had trodden” (1950:59).

Some four decades later, Fischer (1991:432f.) described it as texts written by authors who were not able to reach an educated CA linguistic standard, or who did not intend to adopt such a standard. Blau, who largely shares this particular view, initially regarded MA “the missing link between Classical Arabic and the Modern Arabic dialects” (1988:38), albeit altered his view after some time, eventually considering MA as representing the language of mediaeval texts composed of alternating elements of CA, post-CA, New Arabic and pseudo-corrections in constantly varying degrees.⁶² T. Nöldeke, albeit without using the term ‘Middle Arabic’ in particular, describes it as “written by the uneducated, merely show[ing] a dialectal coloring, frequently combined with a catachrestic use of the grammatical form of CA, not the genuine aspect of the dialect itself. These features are particularly evident in works by Jews and Christians [...]”.⁶³

In later years, scholars like Versteegh have defined Middle Arabic as “the collective name for all texts with deviation from Classical grammar [...]” (2001:114). Today, we mainly speak about MA in its written, stylistic sense, viz. a written style of Arabic, regardless of period or area, combining StA and colloquial elements, as well as features which are neither

⁶² See Blau 1999b:225; 2002:14

⁶³ Nöldeke, *Encyclopedia Britannica* 9, v. 21:628 col 1 apud. Blau 1999b:221

StA, nor colloquial. Scholars principally agree regarding its connection and mutual relevance to the research on contemporary spoken Mixed Arabic.⁶⁴

It is legitimate to say that MA is a written variety of Mixed Arabic, in the sense that it is a mixed variety that has existed for centuries, characterized as the product of the interference of the two polar varieties ‘High’ and ‘Low’ on the diglossic continuum.⁶⁵ J. Lentin describes MA as encompassing “[...] all the attested written layers of the language which can be defined as entirely belonging neither to StA nor to colloquial Arabic, and as an intermediate, multiform variety, product of the interference of the two polar varieties on the continuum they bound, a variety that, for this very reason, has its own distinctive characteristics [...]”.⁶⁶ He suggests, on a general basis, that MA, historically, had a well-established and standardized register and that the register was a chosen one, viz. it was the authors’ target as a result of carefully considering his audience. This view is supported by the fact that many writers of MA texts also wrote texts in flawless and even sophisticated StA, which in turn rules out the alleged idea of writer’s insufficient command of educated linguistic or epigraphic standards; a ‘hyper-standard’ language may in many occasions have been completely out of place. One in favor of a more radical view could even point to a long lasting tradition of normalizing or standardizing Arabic texts, texts who might as well have been written in MA in the first place.⁶⁷ MA exhibits forms that more or less display a variety

⁶⁴ During the past decade, the typological approach to Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic has gone through a process of enabling the two fields to be studied within a common framework. This was achieved throughout a number of conferences held by The International Association for the Study of Middle and Mixed Arabic—AIMA. See e.g. Den Heijer 2012.

⁶⁵ Lentin 2012:33

⁶⁶ Lentin 2008:216

⁶⁷ Lentin 2012:44

corresponding to its oral Mixed Arabic equivalent, filling a space of the linguistic continuum between both polar varieties.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, (oral) Mixed Arabic and (written) Middle Arabic are not the same, and one should also be careful of comparing them too categorically to the spoken vernacular. To quote Versteegh (2004:353) on the issue, “Middle Arabic was not a discrete variety with a development and a structure of its own and it can certainly not be equated with the colloquial language of the time”. About its mixed nature, the idea of a mixed style being the *target* or the *norm*, drawing on a common, intermediate register is clearly something that the two have in common, however, the specific choices and strategies when applying this register vary to a great extent.⁶⁹ For example, the amount and kind of ‘third type’ (non-StA, non-colloquial) forms⁷⁰ differ considerably. These ‘*usages propres*’ (as coined by Lentin) are one of the most central features when defining MA as a separate variety, and are attested much more often in Lentin’s study on written MA than in spoken mixed style. ‘*Usages propres*’ as such are also found in spoken Mixed Arabic, but mostly on a junctural or suprasegmental level such as in emphasis, or vowel drop and shortening in StA lexical items according to dialectal phonology.⁷¹ The degree of classicization and colloquialization corresponding to text type also varies considerably. In Mejdell’s comparison of the two varieties (2012:237f.), she also notes that written, graphic representation of data on the one hand, and spoken, phonetic representation on the other hand, provide different kinds of linguistic information; morphophonological variations that are not visible in written texts, or standardized writing conventions, which certainly facilitate good readability, but at the

⁶⁸ Lentin 2008:219

⁶⁹ Mejdell 2012:236

⁷⁰ The term ‘third type’ forms is explained in chapter 2.4.1.2.

⁷¹ Mejdell 2012:237

same time conceal the underlying dialect form. For example, the combination of dialectal grammatical affixes and StA stems, presented in 2.2.1.2 above (*yitqarrar*; *ʔiqāmit*; *li-taḥqīq-u*⁷²), are easy to perceive when pronounced, but are usually not visible when written in StA. The dynamic and flexible entity of Middle and Mixed Arabic from earlier, modern and contemporary stages still remains to be carefully and extensively studied from a comparative, diachronic perspective.

2.4.1 Identifying Middle Arabic features

In Hary (1992:59), some of the major characteristics distinguishing MA from StA are presented. These are the disappearance of moods and cases; the change of a synthetic possessive construction *ʔidāfa* to an analytic construction; the disappearance of the dual in verbs, pronouns and adjectives; the change of word order. However, the most interesting and important feature of MA (distinguishing it from StA) is the occurrence of so-called pseudo-correct features.

2.4.1.1 Blau's approach: Pseudo-Classical features

In MA texts we find, in varying degrees, an alternation between StA forms and non-StA forms. Local vernaculars constitute a substantial part of the extant non-StA forms, whereas the other forms (which are neither StA forms, nor colloquial) are characterized by J. Blau (1981:27ff.; 1999a:27) as hyper-correct ('too corrected') and hypo-correct forms ('not corrected enough' or 'half-corrected'⁷³), often referred to as pseudo-Classical features (or pseudo-corrections). In very general terms, the notion of pseudo-Classical features points to vernacular forms that has been 'corrected' because of the author's desire to write StA.⁷⁴ In

⁷² The examples are found in Mejdell 2012:238 (see chapter 2.2.1.2)

⁷³ See also Hary 1992:62ff.; 313f., where this subject is discussed extensively.

⁷⁴ Blau uses the term Classical Arabic.

turn, a number of new and incorrect StA forms has come into being, which are neither StA, nor living vernacular.

An example of hyper-correction found in the present material (see chapter 4 and 5) is e.g. in the *q* reflex of StA ʔ (glottal stop): דאָך דלקומור (StA ذلك الأمور 'those things, matters', יאקומי (StA 'O, (my) Mother', כיף ראיית (StA كيف رأييت 'how did you find, how did you see', יקמין ברה (StA 'believe in God' and אַקֶרֶץ (StA الأرض 'the Earth'.⁷⁵ It is clear that the scribe has corrected 'too much' by writing the letter *q* in the place of ʔ, most probably due to an awareness of the tendency to replace StA *q* with ʔ in the spoken variety (StC ʔāl 'he said' is correctly rendered *qāla* when classicized with *q*, whereas StC *il-ʔard* 'the Earth' spelled *il-qard*, when classicized in the same manner, is hyper-correct).

Hypo-corrections are also attested in the material, where the scribe has only partly corrected his writing according to StA: In the examples מן כלמיהו (StA من كلامه 'from his statement, remark' and ועיניהם (StA وعيونهم '(and) their eyes', the genitive state of *kalām* (> *kalāmi*-, due to the preceding preposition) is correctly treated according to StA, however not the 3rd person suffix vowel change, thus employing a hypo-corrected form.⁷⁶

Blau states that we must establish the linguistic character of every text or group of text to identify the colloquial features. By merely eliminating the StA features, we would not find exclusively colloquial features, but also the pseudo-corrections, he argues. Only when repeated incidences of the same ambiguous form occur in the corpus, we may seriously eliminate the chance of pseudo-correction (viz. it reflects a genuine MA feature). This leads us to the issue of standardized pseudo-corrections, which are either pseudo-corrections

⁷⁵ Further examples of *q* for StA ʔ are presented in chapter 5.1.2.18.

⁷⁶ Further examples of affixed pronouns found in the manuscripts are given in chapter 5.2.1.2.

occurring many times in a given text,⁷⁷ or may even spread and become standardized in a given variety, like we have seen e.g. in the use of *lam* + verb in the perfect tense in medieval and modern Judaeo-Arabic.⁷⁸

2.4.1.2 Lentin's approach: *Sui generis* forms and constructions

On the phenomenon of pseudo-corrections, Lentin writes: “[...] les formes linguistiques employées sont soit dialectales, soit standard, soit, précisément, produits du mélange, c’est-à-dire d’un troisième type, *sui generis*” (1997:11f.), arguing that it may also be characterized as a third, mixed type which are *sui generis* forms and (syntactic) constructions that have been shaped and perfected through centuries when dealing with diglossia, some even preserving old traditions which have been rejected by the usually so strict conventional StA norms.⁷⁹ Lentin describes the register of MA as conforming to a norm, albeit not institutionally conventionalized, nor explicitly recognized. Nevertheless, many of these MA features are consistently repeated; they are undoubtedly present, agreed upon and followed by all. The vast number of common features in MA texts—especially when it comes to the non-StA, non-colloquial ‘third type’—proves the existence of MA conventional norms and well-established usages, and even stylistic hierarchies between them.⁸⁰

2.4.1.3 Colloquialisms or genuine Middle Arabic features?

We must always be aware of the possibility that non-StA forms might as well be evidence of the non-StA, non-colloquial features as of local vernacular. The same must be said about

⁷⁷ All three manuscripts presented in this thesis include examples of pseudo-corrections consistently re-occurring in the same text.

⁷⁸ This particular feature is attested in Hary 1992:294; 314; Khan 2006:56f.; Wagner 2010:134; 141, as well as in the material for the present thesis (see chapter 5.3.1).

⁷⁹ Lentin 1997:12

⁸⁰ Lentin 2008:217

distinguishing between what are genuine colloquial forms from an earlier developmental stage rather than the corresponding form in the modern vernaculars, and non-StA, non-colloquial features;⁸¹ a careful investigation of the text or text group's register is imperative. Lentin's (1997) study of Ottoman Levantine texts illustrates an important point with regard to this: If a text displays an abundance of colloquialisms, it does not necessarily imply that we will also find genuine MA features, but if genuine MA features are found, there will certainly be colloquialisms among them.⁸²

2.5 Judaeo-Arabic

Although some has already been treated with regard to the subject of Judaeo-Arabic, and more will be discussed in the following, the topic deserves a brief introduction from a theoretical viewpoint. The language of Judaeo-Arabic is spoken and written, predominantly by Jews on Jewish topics and for a Jewish audience, and dates back to the 8th century C.E.⁸³ Judaeo-Arabic is relevant to the study of Arabic linguistics, especially the history of Arabic because of its close connection to MA, which contributes to a better understanding of the development or "missing link" between CA and today's Arabic dialects. As mentioned above, this particular written variety contains elements of CA, dialect, pseudo-corrected features, and the standardization of such features.⁸⁴

2.5.1 The periods of Judaeo-Arabic as put forward by Benjamin Hary

Hary (1992:75ff.) divides JA into five main periods: Pre-Islamic JA, Early JA (8th to 9th centuries), Classical JA (10th to 15th centuries), Later JA (15th to 19th centuries) and Modern JA (20th century). The two latter are the periods relevant to the present thesis. In

⁸¹ Khan 2007:530

⁸² Lentin 1997:898. Lentin uses the term 'le système C' (le plus 'mélangé').

⁸³ cf. Blau 1981.

⁸⁴ Hary 1992:75

general terms, they exhibit many more dialectal elements than attested in earlier periods. Later JA saw the writing of texts (mostly religious) aimed at the general public and not only the elite. Towards the 19th century and during the period of Modern JA, extensive writing of folk tales and other types of popular literature developed, as well as the tradition of the *šarḥ*, the translation of Hebrew sacred texts into JA.

2.5.2 Late (19th-century) Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic orthography

The orthography and literary standards naturally vary from period to period. For example, the orthographic tradition of Later Egyptian Arabic (which is relevant to the present thesis) is generally characterized by Hebrew and Aramaic influence, close phonetic representation, and StA orthographic influence, and a strong presence of personal orthographic preferences (*Schreiberschule*),⁸⁵ as will be extensively discussed in chapter 5 along with a number of grammatical features characteristic for 19th-century Egypt and its Jewish community.

⁸⁵ Hary 1992:86ff. More on personal orthographic style in chapter 5.1.1.2.

Chapter 3: The Jews of 19th-century Cairo, and their storytelling tradition

The following chapter consists of three parts. First, I will present a short, general introduction to the history, demography and social status of the Jews of Cairo during the 19th century, where the aim is to draw a picture relevant to the Cairene Jews' sociolinguistic situation. Secondly, I will give an introduction to the storytelling tradition in Islam, and the Jewish reinterpretation of stories as such, with reference to folk tales like *qiṣaṣ al-ʿanbiyyāʾ* and the *ʿisraʾīliyyāt*. Finally, I will relate this to the material found in the present thesis, introducing the story *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*.

3.1 The Jewish community in Cairo during the 19th century

As we saw in chapter 2, Jewish dialects appear to preserve older urban linguistic traits due to the connectedness within the community and even between Jewish communities from different geographic places. In fact, many Jewish varieties spoken in different geographic places were probably closer to each other than to their respective non-Jewish neighboring dialects.⁸⁶ Until recently, scholars have not been completely convinced that the dialect spoken among the Jewish community in Cairo have had distinct features beyond what is described by Blanc (1974:207) as NStC. Admittedly, this particular NStC variety was noted among native Cairene Jews—and thus far among these Jews only—but was not spoken by *all* Cairene Jews, and he could not find any reason to assume that NStC features did not occur among non-Jewish Cairenes. Therefore, Blanc did not reject the notion of a distinct variety, but refrained from labeling it 'Jewish Cairene'. To get a better understanding of

⁸⁶ Wagner 2010:13

their sociolinguistic situation within cities like Cairo and Alexandria, we should review some important historical parts of 19th-century Egypt with regard to the Jewish population.

3.1.1 Background

After Napoleon and the French were expelled from Egypt, power was seized in 1805 by the Ottoman Albanian commander Muhammad Ali, and the country nominally remained an Ottoman province. During his reign of about forty years, Egypt underwent changes of rapid modernization,⁸⁷ making Egypt the most powerful player in the region. Muhammad Ali's successors, continued the modernization of Egypt in many ways, through improvements of the country's administrative system, the establishment of an Egyptian post office and by providing economical support to the cause of education. Other important means of modernization were the building of railways and telegraphs, not to forget the opening of the Suez Canal in the end of the 1860's. After 1867, Egypt was granted the status of an autonomous vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. This status remained unchanged *de jure* for almost 50 more years, despite the British occupation in 1882 (ending the national uprising of ʿAḥmad ʿUrābī), until it was declared a British protectorate in 1914.⁸⁸

3.1.2 Demography

We know that the Jews of Egypt were not a homogeneous group, but consisting of the Rabbinite Jews (constituting the majority, but composed of many subgroups originating in different geographical and ethnic backgrounds) and the Karaite Jews.⁸⁹ In the middle of the 19th century, there were a little less than 4,000 Jews living in Cairo. According to Ashtor

⁸⁷ Egypt was also struck by a series of lethal epidemics of plague and cholera during the century.

⁸⁸ For a more detailed survey of the century following the French invasion in 1798-1799, see Tignor 2010:196ff.

⁸⁹ Rosenbaum 2002a:121f.

(2007:344), the Jewish population in 1882 amounted approximately 5,000,⁹⁰ and by 1897, 10,000 including 1,000 Karaites residing in the city.

Around the year of 1800, the majority of the Egyptian population did not live in cities, but on the countryside (about 2 million), whereas only about 260,000 lived in Cairo and 150,000 in the remaining cities of Egypt.⁹¹ Other numbers⁹² estimate the total population (displaying the population of Cairo between brackets) to around 4.5 million for 1800 (200,000), 5 million for 1830 (about 232,000), 5.4 million for 1848 (about 260,000), 8 million for 1882 (about 360,000), and about 10 million for 1887 (about 900,000),⁹³ i.e. the Jewish communities of Cairo and Alexandria may have constituted a much more significant demographic entity within the cities than one might assume *prima facie*, especially since the Jews predominantly dwelt in the cities (unlike the Egyptian majority), and the urbanization did not seriously accelerate before the end of the 19th century.⁹⁴ Hence, Jews probably accounted for as much as 1-1.5% of the Cairene population throughout the century, and it is only logical to assume the same for the city of Alexandria.

3.1.3 The social and legal status of the Egyptian Jews

We can assume that, during this period, the general attitude of Islam and the Ottomans towards Jews (who were perceived as *’ahl al-kitāb* ‘people of the book’) was tolerant, i.e. they were allowed to maintain their religion, even if they were not first-class citizens in a

⁹⁰ The numbers corresponds to other sources, to some extent, stating that in 1884, there was an estimated population of 3-4,000 Jews living in the whole of Egypt, i.e. around 0.15 per cent of the population. See El-Badry 1991 apud. Courbage 1997:64

⁹¹ El-Badry 1991:1274

⁹² According to Lincoln Institute’s Atlas of Urban Expansion. See URL:
<http://www.lincolninst.edu/subcenters/atlas-urban-expansion/images/historical-cairo.zip>

⁹³ Panzac 1987:11ff.

⁹⁴ According to Lincoln Institute’s Atlas of Urban Expansion. See URL:
<http://www.lincolninst.edu/subcenters/atlas-urban-expansion/images/historical-cairo-map.zip>

Muslim state. Apart from a few, generally short periods of prosecution, we do not know of attempts to massacre the Jews or to force them into conversion of religion.⁹⁵ However, Jews residing in the Orient during the 19th century experienced ritual murder accusations (blood libels), charged with killing Christians and Muslims and using their blood for the preparation of *matzah*, in Alexandria (1840), Jerusalem (1870, 1871 and 1896), as well as in Damascus, Beirut, Asia Minor and Turkey. These accusations, although being false, became widely known, and did undoubtedly affect the Egyptian majority's attitude towards Jews and their religion.⁹⁶ Incitement against the Jews may also have been caused by their pro-French attitude, which became apparent when angry Muslim crowds demonstrated against the French during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. French efforts to protect foreign nationals in the Ottoman Empire, as well as Napoleon vaguely promising the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, contributed to encouraging pro-French feelings among Egyptian Jews. According to Jabartī's (1880) writings, European merchants were imprisoned, and their houses searched, when news came that the French had entered Alexandria. The same were the houses and churches of Syrian Christians, Copts and Greeks, and people "wanted to kill the Christians and Jews, but they were prevented by the authorities".⁹⁷

During the next forty-some years, special societies were established to improve the situation of the Jews living in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East, predominantly initiated by the Jewish philanthropists in Europe such as the Rothschilds, Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Maurice de Hirsch and Abraham de Camondo. One of their most important objectives was to oversee that Jews possessed the same advantages and enjoyed the same privileges as were granted to other individuals under the Ottoman rule, as well as raising the general education

⁹⁵ Baer 1966:71f.

⁹⁶ Hirschberg 1969:159f.

⁹⁷ al-Jabartī 1980 apud. el-Messiri 1978:17

standard among Oriental Jews.⁹⁸ These measures bore fruits, and became noticeable in the second half of the 19th century; before this, the Jewish communities in the Orient had been isolated, with their society stagnant and unable to exert influence, and had not been involved in the sphere of science and humanities since mediaeval times.⁹⁹ Now, Jews in Egypt saw the establishment of schools with instructions in French, English and German, with the addition of many other general subjects, including religious education, inspired by and adopting tendencies prevalent in Western Europe.¹⁰⁰ In 1896, a school for boys (336 pupils) was established in Cairo, followed the next year by the establishment of a girls' school (145 pupils) in Cairo and one of mixed gender (192 pupils) in Alexandria—all financed by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.¹⁰¹

The Jews in Egypt were probably identified as distinct from the ethnic, Muslim Egyptian Cairenes (*ʿawlād al-balad*). According to El-Messiri (1978:14f.), even Arab groups such as North Africans, Syrians, Sudanese and Yemenis, though Arabic speaking Muslims, were not considered *ʿawlād al-balad*. Their ancestry—and in the situation of the Jews, religion—set them apart, rather than their place of birth. All these groups probably spoke varieties or deployed ethnic variants markedly different from the StC variety. Also, whereas all Muslims were connected with the al-ʿAzhar University in one way or another (Moroccans were in the Moroccan class, the Syrians in the Syrian class etc.), the Jews were not. Special clothing within the various groups and classes was virtually obliged. For example, the Mamluks wore yellow shoes, the Copts red shoes, and the Jews blue shoes.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Hirschberg 1969:212f.

⁹⁹ Hirschberg 1969:225

¹⁰⁰ Hirschberg 1969:215f.

¹⁰¹ According to JewishEncyclopedia.com (article on *Alliance Israélite Universelle*), see URL: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1264-alliance-israelite-universelle>

¹⁰² El-Messiri 1978:14f.

3.2 Muslim and Jewish storytelling tradition

In 19th-century Judaeo-Arabic, dialectal features as well as pseudo-corrections became more common in the written language, probably due to a greater production of *šurūḥ* (translations of Hebrew sacred texts into JA) and folk tales like *Qišaš al-ʿAnbiyāʾ* ‘Stories of the Prophets’ and the *ʿisraʿīliyyāt* ‘of the Israelites’,¹⁰³ which presents the pre-Islamic prophets and stories from the Hebrew Scriptures, respectively, from an Islamic perspective. The term *qīšaš* is derived from Arabic *qaṣṣa* ‘to tell a story’, and the term later came to mean ‘tales’ or ‘stories’ of religious nature.¹⁰⁴ The three manuscripts presented in the present thesis, are typical examples of storytelling as such, stories of an oral character which can clearly be associated with the *ḥakawātī* genre. The particular role of the various prophets are noted in the stories, e.g. Joseph for his beauty, wisdom and love for his father; Jesus for reviving the dead and caring for the poor. To many Muslims, these may be regarded actual historical accounts, relating what may have happened to the prophets. However, few Muslims scholars would ascribe the stories further significance in terms of religious importance. With regard to this, Brinner writes: “From the nature of these tales modern scholars have concluded that they are largely based on oral tradition rather than on written sources” (2002:xx). The stories are written in a style alternating between the folk literature genre and religious commentary; they are filled with religious instructions similar to the scholarly commentaries on the *Qurʾān*, but are undoubtedly tales for the enjoyment of the reader.¹⁰⁵ The stories’ apparent profane rather than religious role may be illustrated by comparing it to e.g. the Later Egyptian JA writing of the *megillah*, where the combination יהו is avoided by scribes because

¹⁰³ Hary 1992:77

¹⁰⁴ Brinner 2002:xii

¹⁰⁵ Brinner 2002:xiff.

of its sacred significance. In the case of *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*, although exhibiting religious content, יהו is attested several times in all three manuscripts.¹⁰⁶

The tradition of Jewish interpretation of these Muslim tales, re-written in JA script and slightly modified to accommodate its Jewish audience, shows the influence that Islam had on these communities, and the Jews' natural encounter with Islamic topics, as well as interest and admiration for this part of Islamic literature. It should of course be borne in mind, that the genre, historically speaking, represents the adaptation by Muslim writers of material based on Hebrew and Christian scriptures in the first place, illustrating the strong and long-lasting interaction between the three monotheistic religions.

3.3 *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*

3.3.1 *The original, Arabic version*

The story found in the present material, *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma* was originally written by ʿAbdullah al-Kafīf (died around 1688 C.E.) under the title *qiṣṣatu l-jumjumati maʿ nabīyi llāhi ʿīsā ʿalayhi s-salām* 'The Story of the Skull, with Jesus the Prophet, peace be upon him'. The story is reminiscent of the genre of *qiṣaṣ al-ʿanbiyāʾ* mentioned above. A printed version can be found in the book *al-munājātu l-kubrā li-sayyidinā mūsā ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salām* 'Our Master Moses' Great Intimate Conversation, peace and blessings be upon him', printed in Cairo in 1956.¹⁰⁷

3.3.2 *The Judaeo-Arabic versions: A Jewish narrative*

Each one of the three manuscripts are comprised of a Judaeo-Arabic version of *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma* 'The Story of the Skull', and they all cover the complete story—a story about life

¹⁰⁶ Hary 1992:90

¹⁰⁷ See al-Kafif 1956.

and death, punishment and submission to God. All three versions have omitted the name of Jesus from the story or any reference to his person; he does not have a name, and is merely referred to as *šaxš* or *saxš* (שַׁחַשׁ) ‘person’.

It is unquestionably the same story that is presented in al-Kafīf’s original Muslim version and the three Jewish versions, but the former differs a lot from the latter ones—not only because of the vast dialectal traces attested in the Jewish versions, but also in terms of linguistic features, grammatical structure, lexicon and literary style with respect to StA versus MA features.¹⁰⁸ The stories featured in the three Jewish manuscripts are virtually identical; the differences between the three manuscripts are predominantly orthographic, phonological and morphological. These differences are addressed in the apparatus of the critical edition (chapter 4) and in the linguistic analysis (chapter 5).

The story includes a number of names, references and citations from both Christian, Muslim and Jewish tradition (which are also, to some extent, found in the original, Arabic version of the story). For example, the phrase *כל <..> דאנו מליאן עיון ולהו אגנחה² לרחמה ואגנחה לנקמה* (GAM 6a, 9-11)¹⁰⁹ ‘his body is full of eyes, he has wings for mercy and wings for punishment’ found in the JA version of the story very much resembles the following passage from the Book of Revelation: “And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within” (Rev. 4.8).¹¹⁰ Other examples are the reference to Munkar and Nakīr ‘the Denied and the Denier’,¹¹¹ the two angels who according to Islamic tradition question the newly dead, and numerous Qur’ānic and Biblical references, e.g. the action of

¹⁰⁸ The Judaeo-Arabic versions of the story display striking cultural and socio-linguistic similarities to other Judaeo-Arabic stories from the same time and genre. See e.g. Hary 2009 or Edzard 2012.

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 4.2 for reading instructions to the critical edition.

¹¹⁰ From the King James Bible.

¹¹¹ These angels are referred to as Nākir and Nakīr in all three JA versions.

putting sinners in chains, punishing them and throwing them into the blazing fire,¹¹² and a reference to a part of the Muslim so-called *kalimat at-tamjīd* ‘the word of Majesty’,¹¹³ compiled from various *ḥadīths*, in לחולה ולדת אלה בלה אעזים (GAM 10b, 10-11) ‘there is no power or strength except with God, the Great’.

¹¹² See e.g. Sūrat Ġāfir 71; Sūrat Ḥāqqa 30; Dan. 3.17.

¹¹³ ‘The word of Majesty’ reads سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ (as recorded *inter alia* by Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ṢAbū Dawūd and Tirmidī).

Chapter 4: Critical edition and English translation of *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma* ‘The Story of the Skull’

4.1 Introduction to the three Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts

On the whole, the manuscripts presented here was copied or translated to JA in 19th-century Egypt, most probably Cairo, and contain the same story, but are written by three different scribes representing three different styles and attitudes towards the linguistic content, thus exhibiting a wide specter of interesting contemporary variety features, both spoken and written. The manuscripts are *Cairo – Jewish Communities 104* (abbreviated CAI), *Ramle – The Karaite community in Israel 42* (KAR) and *Ramle – Rabbi Yosef Algamil* (GAM). Each of the three manuscripts presented, are indicated by a three letter abbreviation (resembling the name of the manuscript’s custodian library or the person or institution holding its copyrights). Microfilm copies of all three manuscripts can be located in the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in the basement of The Israeli National Library in Jerusalem (their respective Mss. R.R. Film Number at the library’s online catalogue ALEPH500, are displayed in the footnotes).¹¹⁴

CAI comes from The Cairo Collection,¹¹⁵ a collection consisting of more than one hundred photocopied manuscripts, mostly from Egypt, dating from the 18th through the 20th century. In the 1980s Benjamin Hary brought this collection from a synagogue in Cairo, to the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts.¹¹⁶ According to the manuscript’s first folios and colophon, CAI was written or copied between November 13th and 17th, 1887 in

¹¹⁴ CAI - F 42863; KAR - F 38842; GAM - F 42596.

¹¹⁵ Permission to copy the manuscript has been given by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, and from Benjamin Hary himself.

¹¹⁶ For more on The Cairo Collection, see Hary 2009:63ff.

Cairo, Egypt, in *Rue quartier Israélite*. The scribe's name is written ذاكي داوود ارجيل in Arabic letters, transliterated with Latin letters, most likely in French, by the scribe himself as *Zooqui D. Argi*.¹¹⁷ The manuscript is comprised of two separate texts, where 'The Story of the Skull' is the first, and a Judaeo-Arabic version of Yehuda Halevi's מי כמוך 'Who Is Like You?' is the second. The two stories are written on a total of 30 folios; "The Story of the Skull" is written on 17 folios (400 lines of text, 409 including decoration, each folio containing 15 lines of text, and is written in an Arabic-inspired Aramaic-Hebrew, cursive oriental 16th-century script¹¹⁸), including the first folios (the front page and a colophon) of which the whole text has been preserved in readable condition. At the end of the story, there is a reference to another author or scribe, כאתבהא נסים ענאני 'Nasīm ʿAnāni wrote it', but it does not state whether he is the actual author or the scribe of the story.

KAR belongs to and is preserved by the Karaite community in Israel¹¹⁹, dating back to the 19th century, found in a storage room in Egypt.¹²⁰ It is written on 9 folios (269 lines of text, each folio containing 16-19 lines of text, written in something resembling 15th century Spanish Aramaic-Hebrew rabbinic script [in one instance, the scribe uses Aramaic-Hebrew cursive oriental 16th-century script])¹²¹ of which the whole text has been preserved in readable condition (with the exception of one word on folio 7b). KAR has no colophon or signature, thus it is unclear who the scribe or possible author is.

¹¹⁷ The first folio and the colophon in the beginning of the manuscript is written in Arabic, and the colophon at the end is written in French. The Arabic folios reads هذه الكتاب تعلق الخواجه ذاكي داوود ارجيل, مصر. هذا الكتاب يوجد في قصة whereas the French colophon reads "Cette Livre appartient à M[onsieur] Z. D. Argi. Rue quartier Israélite. [...]ris le 13 Novembre 1887. Caire le 13.11.87".

¹¹⁸ cf. Table of Early Semitic alphabets by M. Lidzbarski, in Gesenius 1910

¹¹⁹ Permission to copy the manuscript has been granted by Rabbi Yosef Algamil of the Karaite community in Israel.

¹²⁰ This information is based on personal e-mail correspondence with Rabbi Yosef Algamil.

¹²¹ cf. Table of Early Semitic alphabets by M. Lidzbarski, in Gesenius 1910

GAM also belongs to and is preserved by the Karaite community in Israel¹²², dating back to the 19th century, found in a storage room in Egypt.¹²³ It is written on 14 folios (387 lines of text, each folio containing 17-18 lines of text, written in a script close to Aramaic-Hebrew square character Spanish 1470 A.D. script¹²⁴ [the catch words¹²⁵ are written in a script resembling Aramaic-Hebrew cursive 19th century Algerian])¹²⁶. The text is relatively well preserved, and only some margins and short passages has been damaged.

4.2. *Reading instructions to the critical edition*

The following paragraphs presents an explanation for the reading of the critical edition to the three manuscripts that have been studied in the preparations for the present thesis.

In the critical edition, GAM is used as the base text,¹²⁷ whereas parts that are omitted, changed, added or written differently in KAR and CAI are pointed out in the variant readings in the apparatus, found below the base text on each page. An idiomatic English translation of the base text is also given, found on the bottom of each page. The reason for this choice is that GAM exhibits much larger number of colloquial, MA and seemingly distinct Jewish features than the other two manuscripts. The base text includes folio numbers and line numbers relative to each folio in the original manuscript. The apparatus does not include folio numbers and line numbers relative to the corresponding story in KAR and CAI, but this can be located in the *Critical edition concordance* (in the end of this paper). Both Latin and Hebrew letters are used to denote *recto folio* and *in verso folio* (i.e. the front

¹²² Permission to copy the manuscript was granted by Rabbi Yosef Algamil.

¹²³ This information is based on personal e-mail correspondence with Rabbi Yosef Algamil.

¹²⁴ cf. Table of Early Semitic alphabets by M. Lidzbarski, in Gesenius 1910

¹²⁵ See the explanation for the term 'catch word' below.

¹²⁶ cf. Table of Early Semitic alphabets by M. Lidzbarski, in Gesenius 1910

¹²⁷ Because GAM is used as the base text for the critical edition, a photocopy of the manuscript is also included in the end of this paper, in *Photocopy of Ramle – Rabbi Yosef Algamil (GAM)*.

and back sides of the leaf of paper), and the use varies according to the use of English or Hebrew in writing. In the critical edition, Hebrew folio and line references (א = *recto*; ב = *verso*) are used, whereas Latin references (a = *recto*; b = *verso*) are used elsewhere in the present paper. This I have done of esthetic reasons, as well as to ease the reading flow. The numbers beneath the folio reference in the right margin of each page of the critical edition denote the original manuscript's line number. ט"ז, which is located at the end of every folio is a *šomer daf* 'catch word', written by the scribe himself or someone else at the end of each folio in the manuscript, representing the first word on the preceding folio—a technique used to keep track of the page order. Similar to GAM, CAI also displays catch words on the end of each folio, but is not included in the variant reading because it is superfluous. In addition, the story's title קוצת אגמגמה is written on the top of each folio in CAI. Therefore, the variant reading of CAI starts from line two on each folio.

The base text presents the story the way it is written in the GAM manuscript, starting at folio 2a, line 1 (2a, 1), ending at folio 14a, line 12 (14a, 12). The corresponding story from the KAR-manuscript starts from 1a, 1, ending at 9b, 13, while CAI starts from 4a, 1, ending at 17b, 8 (I have left the out the colophon and front pages in CAI). Further notes to the critical edition concerning the three versions are included in the footnotes.

4.2.1 Diacritics and other writing conventions: What is included in the critical edition?

The critical edition includes all visible punctuations. However, differences in punctuation between the three manuscripts are included in the variant reading only when indicating a significant phonological meaning. For example, the letter *fā* is written with a dot above in CAI (פֿ), and without in KAR and GAM (פ). Here, the dot represents nothing more than the scribe's custom of writing; it does not denote a significant phonological difference, thus it is not included in the variant reading. Likewise, the letter *jīm* (SC *gīm*) is written with a dot

below in KAR (א), but not in GAM and CAI (א). In GAM, the letter *xāʾ* is written with an acute accent (ֿ),¹²⁸ whereas in KAR and CAI, it is written with a dot above (ֿ). Admittedly, all instances of definite article deviating between the manuscripts (the use of *ʾalif-lām* ligature א or comprehensive לא) are included in the variant reading, even when apparently not representing any significant phonological difference, mainly because of its comparative orthographic interest. The place or presence of the punctuation indicating *ḡayn* differs in the three versions. In CAI, it is marked by a dot below the *jīm* (א), and in KAR the dot is placed above the letter (א), whereas in GAM it is not indicated (א). All instances where *ḡayn* written with a dot in one manuscript and without a dot in another, the difference is included in the variant reading. However—according to the same principle, of indicating only the significant phonological meaning—the difference between the exact places of the dot is not included. There are no distinctions between *dāl* and *ḡāl*, as well as *tāʾ* and *ṭāʾ* in GAM and KAR (the letters are represented by ט and ט, respectively), whereas CAI makes the distinction (by applying diacritics).

In the critical edition, abbreviations (like eulogies and blessings) are transcribed according to Modern Hebrew typography, using the punctuation marks *gereš* and *geršayim* (e.g. סב' ותע' or ס"ו [respectively] = StA سبحان الله وتعالى 'Glorified and Exalted be He') although they are not always written that way in the original manuscripts, where the scribes uses different punctuation. Here, abbreviations are usually marked by a stroke or a dot above the letter(s).

4.2.1.2 Technical symbols found in the critical edition

- <...> a ripped/torn off or not visible segment that includes at least one whole word.
- <..> a ripped/torn off or not visible segment that includes a part of a word.
- combining two words together.

¹²⁸ Except one occurrence, in GAM 3b, 2.

- ! ! error in the scribe's transmission of the text.
- ? ? doubt about what is written; letter suggested between symbols.
- ליתא not attested in respective manuscript.
- ש"ד *šomer daf* 'catch word' (first word on preceding folio written at the bottom of each folio).

4.3 Critical edition and English translation of *Qisṣat al-Jumjuma*

Base text:	GAM	[p. 2a, 1 – p. 14a, 12]
Additional manuscripts:	KAR	[p. 1a, 1 – p. 9b, 13]
	CAI	[p. 4a, 1 – p. 17b, 8]

א2

1 קוצת א גמגמה

א3

1 הדא קצת א

2 גמגמה ומה גרה להא

3

4 קאו אעולמה עליהום אל

5 סאם בקין כאן סכץ מסאפר

6 לבלד אסאם והו מאסי מהבין

7 אכאה ואתוראב וכאן אתקה

8 גמגמה מיית מרמייה פי אל

א2 1 קוצת א גמגמה [KAR הדא היא קצת אגמגמה ומא גרא להא CAI ליתא

א3 1 קצת א] KAR היא קצת CAI אתחיל לכתוב קצת

א3 2 גמגמה [CAI KAR אגמגמה; ומא] KAR ומה CAI ליתא; גרא] KAR גרה CAI ליתא

א3 4 אעולמה] KAR ליתא; אל] CAI KAR ליתא

א3 5 סאם] CAI KAR אסלאם; בקין] KAR באן CAI אן; כאן] CAI גרת ממשא פי; סכץ] KAR שכץ CAI שכץ

ואחד כאן; מסאפר] KAR סאפר

א3 6 לבלד] KAR לבלאד CAI ליתא; אסאם] KAR אשאם CAI ליתא; והו CAI ליתא; מאסי] KAR מאשי CAI

ליתא; מהבין] CAI KAR פי

א3 7 אכאה] KAR אכלא CAI אכלה; ואתוראב] KAR בין אל תורב CAI בין אתורב; וכאן] CAI והוא מאשי;

אתקה] CAI KAR אתקה

א3 8 גמגמה] CAI גמגמת ואחד; מיית] CAI מית; מרמייה] KAR מרמייה CAI מרמיה; אל] CAI KAR ליתא

The Story of the Skull. This is the Story of the Skull and what happened to it. The learned, peace be upon them, told that a man was traveling in the land of Greater Syria, walking in an uninhabited meadow, when he encountered a dead skull tossed on the [...]

טאריק פי אכדהא פי יאדו ואתרע	9
פיהא ואתמלה מנהא בל נזאר	10
פי וגדהא ביצה מתל אל תלג	11
אאביץ פי טראב מן ארה ואל	12
יא אהי ויאסידי ויאתקותי ויארגיה	13
אסא מן פצלך ומן אחסנך אנך	14
תקזין להאדי אגמגמה באנהא	15
תנתק ותתכלם חתה תכלמני מתל	16
מיתכלם	ש"ד

ב3

מיתכלם אאנסן מעה צחבהו	1
פלמה פרג אסכץ מן כלמיהו	2

3א 9 טאריק] KAR אטריק ביצה מתל אתלג אאביץ CAI אטריק ביצה מתל אתלג; פי אכדהא] KAR פאכדהא CAI
פאכדהא; יאדו] CAI KAR ידו; ואתרע] KAR ואטלע CAI ואתטלע
3א 10 בל נזאר] KAR באנטר CAI בא נטר
3א 11 פי וגדהא ביצה מתל אל תלג] CAI KAR ליתא¹²⁹
3א 12 אאביץ] CAI ליתא; פי טראב] CAI KAR וטלב; ארה] KAR אלה CAI אלה סובחאן ותעאלה; ואל] KAR
CAI וקא
3א 13 אהי] KAR אהי CAI אה; ויאסידי] CAI KAR וסיידי; ויאתקותי] KAR ותקותי CAI ליתא; ויארגיה]
KAR ורגאיה CAI ורגאיה
3א 14 ומן אחסנך] KAR ומן אחסאנך CAI ואחסאנך; אנך] CAI אן
3א 15 תקזין] KAR תאדן CAI תאדן; להאדי אגמגמה] KAR ללגמגמה האדי CAI להאדה אגמגמה; באנהא] CAI
אנהא
3א 16 תנתק] CAI KAR תנטק; חתה תכלמני] KAR חתי תכלמני CAI ותגאובני; מתל] CAI שכל
3ב 1 מיתכלם] CAI KAR מא יתכלם; אאנסן] CAI KAR אאנסאן; מעה] KAR מעא; צחבהו] KAR צאחבהו CAI
צאחבו ויגאובו
3ב 2 פלמה] CAI KAR פלמא; פרג] CAI KAR פרג; אסכץ] KAR אשכץ CAI דאך א אנסאן; כלמיהו] KAR
כלמיהו CAI כלאמו

[...] road. He took it in his hands, looked at it and examined it, and found it as white as the whitest snow. Thereafter, he implored God, saying: "O my God, my Master, my Belief, my Hope. I implore Thee in Thy grace that Thou grant this skull permission to articulate and express, so that it may speak to me the way man speaks to his companion". When the man fell silent, [...]

¹²⁹ The corresponding part is found above (see 3a, 9) in both KAR and CAI, respectively: ביצה ; ביצה מתל אתלג אאביץ
אתלג מתל.

3	ואד 'אמהא' אכֶּאק ע"ו פי מולכהו
4	אנהא תגאבו עלה גמיע מה
5	יסא מנהא ויתרוב מנהא פקלהא
6	דאך אסכֶּץ יאייהו אגמגמה כלמ <...>
7	וחדתיני בקודרית ארה ס"ו פלמ ² ה?
8	פרג אסכֶּץ מן כאמהו פי נתקית
9	אגמגמה בלסאן פסיח מוטלק
10	פאת אן ארה הו חק ואסמהו חק
11	ואמות חק ותעלם יאייהו אסכֶּץ
12	כלמני וחדתיני חתה ארו ² ד? לך
13	גואבך לאדר אנתקני <...> ק <...> ע"ו
14	פי מולכהו לאגל מה נ <...> בך פי

ב3 וואד KAR וואד קד CAI וואד קד; 'אמהא' CAI KAR אמרהא; ע"ו פי מולכהו KAR תע' עז וגל פי מולכהו CAI ס"ות עז וגל

ב3 תגאבו KAR תגאובוהו CAI תגאוב; עלה KAR עלי CAI פִי; מה CAI מא

ב3 יסא מנהא CAI KAR יסאהא; ויתרוב CAI KAR ויטלוב; פקלהא KAR פקאלהא CAI קא להא

ב3 דאך CAI ליתא; אסכֶּץ KAR אשכֶּץ CAI א שכֶּץ; יאייהו KAR יאייהו CAI יא איוהא; כלמ <...> KAR CAI כלמיני

ב3 בקודרית CAI KAR בקודרת; ארה CAI KAR אלה; ס"ו KAR תע' CAI ס"ות; פלמ²ה? KAR פלמא CAI ליתא

ב3 פרג אסכֶּץ מן כאמהו KAR פרג אשכֶּץ מן כלמהו CAI ליתא; פי נתקית KAR גאובתהו CAI פגאובת

ב3 פסיח CAI KAR פציח

ב3 פאת CAI KAR וקאת; אן CAI KAR ליתא; ארה CAI KAR אלה; הו CAI KAR ליתא; ואסמהו KAR ואסמה

ב3 ואמות KAR וקולהו; ותעלם CAI KAR ליתא; יאייהו KAR איהו CAI יא איוהא; אסכֶּץ CAI KAR אשכֶּץ

ב3 חתה KAR חתי CAI חתא אגאובך; ארו²ד? KAR ארוד CAI וארוד

ב3 גואבך CAI גואבך; לאדר CAI KAR לקד; אנתקני KAR אנתקני CAI אמרני; <...> ק CAI KAR אחק; <...> ע"ו KAR עז וגל CAI ס"ות עז וגל

ב3 פי מולכהו CAI KAR ליתא; לאגל מה KAR לאגל מא CAI אנני; נ <...> בך KAR נגאובך CAI אגאובך

[...] the Creator Almighty in His kingdom commanded it to answer everything that the man might ask and request. So the man said: "O skull, talk to me, from the strength of God, Glorified and Exalted be He". When the man fell silent, the skull spoke in a fluent and articulate language, and said: "God is indeed the truth, His name is the truth, and so is death. Know this, O man. Utter, speak to me so that I can give you an answer" God, Glorified and Exalted be He, Almighty in His kingdom made me speak, to answer [...]

15 גמיע מתתלב מנ^י? ותס^א? מנו
 16 חתה ארוץ לך גואבך לאגל א^נ!
 ש"ד אנתקני

א4
 1 אנתקני אחק ס"ו פי מולכהו פקל
 2 להא דאך אסכץ מין אן תכוני ומין
 3 אנתי אנסייה או גנייה אנתי סרחה
 4 או טרחה אנתי דכאר או אנתאייה
 5 אנתי טוילה או קצירה פלמה
 6 פ[?]רג אסכץ מן כאמהו ואסתמעית
 7 זא[?]ך דלכלם פינתקית א גמגמה בל
 8 שאן פסיח מותלק פיקאת מתעלם
 9 יאייהו אסכץ אני אנה לם כונת

ב3 15 גמיע CAI כאמל; מתתלב מנ^י? ותס^א? מנו KAR מא תסא מני ותטלוב מני CAI מא תסא מני
 ב3 16 חתה CAI KAR ליתא; ארוץ KAR נרוד CAI ליתא; לך גואבך CAI ליתא; לאגל א^נ! CAI KAR
 ליתא
 א4 1 אנתקני אחק ס"ו פי מולכהו CAI KAR ליתא; פקל KAR פקאלהא CAI פקא
 א4 2 להא KAR ליתא; דאך KAR דלך CAI דאך; אסכץ CAI KAR אשכץ; מין KAR מן CAI אכברני מן;
 אן KAR אין CAI ליתא; ומין KAR ומן אין CAI אנתי
 א4 3 אנסייה KAR אנסייה CAI אנסייה; גנייה KAR גנייה; סרחה KAR צאחא CAI צאלחה
 א4 4 טרחה KAR טאחא CAI טאלחה; דכאר CAI KAR דכר; אנתאייה KAR אנתאנא CAI נתאיה
 א4 5 טוילה CAI טוילה; פלמה CAI KAR ליתא
 א4 6 פ[?]רג אסכץ מן כאמהו ואסתמעית CAI KAR ליתא
 א4 7 זא[?]ך דלכלם CAI KAR ליתא; פינתקית KAR פנטקת CAI פי נטקת; א גמגמה CAI KAR אגמגמה; בל-
 שאן¹³¹ KAR וקאת בלסאן CAI ליתא
 א4 8 פסיח מותלק פיקאת מתעלם KAR וקאת בלסאן פציח תעלם CAI וקאת להו
 א4 9 יאייהו KAR יא איהו CAI יא איהו; אסכץ CAI KAR אשכץ; אני KAR איני CAI אן; אנה CAI KAR
 אנא

[...] whatever you may ask and request from me. So the man asked: "Who are you? Are you a man or a jinn? Are you good or evil? Are you man or woman? Are you tall or short?" When the man fell silent, the skull had listened to his words, and spoke in fluent and articulate language, saying: "Know this, O man, that I was not [...]"

¹³⁰ Sic!

¹³¹ The word בלשאן has been split by the scribe in two different lines (4a, 7-8).

שקיייה אלה כונת סעידה בקניי אנה	10
א'פכיר? פי מה כונת סורטאנה	11
פי באד אסאם וכונת למה נגי	12
נר'כ'ב? <..>רע ללצייד ואאנאץ	13
כאנו? ירכ'בו מעאייה ארבעמית	14
אף? ג'באר לאבסין קואקיק מין	15
אמוכמל ואדיבג אאביץ וכל ואחד	16
מנהום	ש"ד

ב4

מנהום מאשך פיאדו טיר יקוללו	1
א עוקאב ועלה כל רש ואחד מנהו <..>	2
תאג מן אלהב ופי גבנהום עוצבת	3
מכללין באלולי ואיקות ואמורגאן	4

- א4 10 שקיייה KAR שקייא CAI שאקיה; אלה CAI KAR; כונת סעידה KAR סעידה CAI כונת גאניה; בקניי
 KAR באיני CAI ליתא; אנה CAI KAR אנה
 א4 11 א'פכיר? CAI KAR אפתכר; פי מה KAR באיני CAI אנני; סורטאן KAR סולטאן CAI צולטאן
 א4 12 באד CAI KAR בלאד; אסאם CAI KAR אשאם; למה CAI KAR למא; נגי CAI ליתא
 א4 13 נר'כ'ב? CAI KAR נרכב; <..>רע CAI KAR ונטלע; ואאנאץ KAR ואקנץ CAI וללקנץ
 א4 14 ירכ'בו? CAI KAR ירכבו; מעאייה KAR מעאיא CAI מעי; ארבעמית KAR ארבע מאית CAI אורבע
 מאית
 א4 15 ג'באר? KAR גבאר CAI נפר; קואקיק KAR קואיק CAI אקוואויק
 א4 16 אמוכמל? KAR אל מוכמל CAI אמוכמל; ואדיבג CAI KAR ואדיבאג; וכל KAR וכול
 א4 1 מאשך? CAI KAR מאסך; פיאדו CAI KAR פי ידו; יקוללו? KAR יוקאלהו CAI יוקא להו בא אסם
 א4 2 א עוקאב? CAI KAR אעוקאב; ועלה? KAR ועלי; כל רש? KAR כול ראס CAI ראס כל; מנהו <..> KAR
 CAI מנהום
 א4 3 אלהב? KAR אלהב CAI אלהב; גבנהום? KAR גבינהום CAI גביניהום; עוצבת? KAR עוצאבאט CAI עצאב
 א4 4 באלולי? KAR באלולו CAI בא לולי; ואיקות? CAI KAR ואיאקות; ואמורגאן? KAR ואל מורגאן

[...] a sinner before God. I was content thinking of myself as a sultan in the land of Greater Syria. When I went out riding, going hunting, there were four hundred warrior horsemen traveling with me, wearing armor of velvet and white damask, every one of them holding a falcon bird. And on each one's head was a crown of gold, and on their foreheads a band embellished with pearls, rubies and [red] coral. [...]

5	לאחר ואת לם אחדן נזלני מן
6	צרטנתי ואעדת צורטנה פיםדת
7	עשרין שנה ומעה האדה כונת
8	טאויל אקומה ומליח אסורה וכל
9	אנאס לם יסבעו מן וגהי אנזאר
10	ומן כותל חוסני וגמאי ומעה כל זאך
11	כונת נתעאם אגיעאן ונסקי אע ^ט ? <..>א<..>
12	ונכסי אעריאן ואצדק עלה אקראיר
13	וא קיתאם ואפוקרה ואמסאכין וכנת
14	צדקתי כל יום אף דינאר ובעד
15	זאך פי אכרתי גרני אסיתאן ועסי ^ת ?
16	אהי ועבדת אאצנא כפי אל חין א
ש"ד	כאלק

- 4ב 5 אאחר [CAI KAR ליתא; ואת] [CAI KAR וקת; אחדן נזלני] [CAI אחדן נזעני אחד]
- 4ב 6 צרטנתי [CAI KAR צלטנתי; ואעדת] [CAI וקעדת] [CAI וגלסת; צורטנה פיםדת] [CAI צולטאן פי מודת]
- CAI פיםדת צלטנתי
- 4ב 7 שנה [CAI KAR סנה; ומעה האדה] [CAI ומע הדה] [CAI וגיר דאך]
- 4ב 8 טאויל [CAI טויל; אקומה] [CAI אלקאמה] [CAI ומליח] [CAI KAR מליח; אסורה]
- CAI KAR אצורה; וכל [CAI KAR וכל]
- 4ב 9 יסבעו [CAI KAR יסבעו; וגהי אנזאר] [CAI אנזאר אי וגהי מן אנזאר] [CAI אנזאר פי וגהי]
- 4ב 10 ומן [CAI KAR מן; כותל] [CAI KAR כותר; ומעה] [CAI ומע] [CAI ומעא; כל] [CAI KAR כול; זאך] [CAI KAR דלך]
- 4ב 11 נתעאם [CAI נטעם] [CAI אטעם; ונסקי אע^ט? <..>א<..>] [CAI ונסקי אלעטשאן] [CAI ליתא]
- 4ב 12 ואצדק [CAI ואתצדק; עלה] [CAI עלי; אקראיר] [CAI KAR אאראמל]
- 4ב 13 וא קיתאם [CAI ואיתאם] [CAI וא איתאם; ואפוקרה] [CAI ואפוקרא] [CAI ועלה אפוקרא; ואמסאכין]
- CAI KAR ואמסאכין; וכנת [CAI וכנת]
- 4ב 14 כל [CAI כול; דינאר] [CAI דינאר דהב]
- 4ב 15 זאך [CAI דלך] [CAI דלך; גרני] [CAI גרני] [CAI גוואני; אסיתאן] [CAI KAR אשיטאן; ועסי^ת?] [CAI KAR ועצית]
- 4ב 16 אהי [CAI KAR אאהי; ועבדת] [CAI ועבדי; אאצנא] [CAI KAR אאצנאם; כפי אל חין] [CAI KAR פא חין] [CAI פאחין; א] [CAI KAR ליתא]

[...] red [coral]. No one could throw me off my throne, and I had been the sultan for twenty years. Moreover, I was of great stature, good looking, and no one could get enough of my boundless beauty. Also, I used to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked and give charity to widows, orphans, beggars and the poor. I gave a thousand dinars worth of alms every day, but later, towards the end Satan coerced me to do evil, and I denied my God and worshipped pagan deities. Then [...]

אכֶאק נזל מן עלייה אנעמה ע"ו	1	א5
פי מולכהו ואקלבה לתעב וסקה	2	
ודולה ודיקה פלמה פרגית א ג'	3	
גמגמה מן כאמה פקל דאך אל	4	
סכֶץ יאייהו אגמגמה אריד מנך	5	
תכברני כיף ראיתי אהל אל מות	6	
ובקי מותה מותי וכיף ראיתי חא	7	
אמות וסדתו וציקת אקבר וזלמתו	8	
ומלך אמות והיבתו פילמה פרג	9	
אסכֶץ מן כאמהו פקלת אגמגמה	10	
לאדר סאתני ען אמר עזים פי	11	
מתעלם יאייהו אסכֶץ באינלי	12	

א5 א 1 אכֶאק [KAR אכֶאק תע' עז וגל CAI אחק סובחאן ותעאה; מן עלייה אנעמה] KAR אנעמה אדי כאן אנעמהא
עלייה CAI אנעמה מן עלייה; ע"ו] CAI KAR ליתא

א5 א 2 פי מולכהו] CAI KAR ליתא; ואקלבה] KAR ואקלבהא CAI וקלבהא; וסקה] CAI KAR ושקא

א5 א 3 ודולה] CAI ודול; ודיקה] KAR וציקה CAI ודיקא יכפינא אסו; פרגית א ג'] CAI KAR ליתא

א5 א 4 גמגמה מן כאמה] CAI KAR ליתא; פקל] KAR פקא CAI פי קא להא¹³²; דאך] CAI דאך; אל] CAI KAR ליתא

א5 א 5 סכֶץ] KAR אלשכֶץ CAI אשכֶץ; יאייהו] KAR יא איהו CAI יא איוהא; מנך] KAR מניך CAI מנך

א5 א 6 תכברני] KAR איניך תכברני CAI א'ג'יך¹³³ תכברני; אהל] CAI אחוא; אל] CAI א KAR אמות

א5 א 7 ובקי] KAR ובאי CAI ואמה; מותה] KAR מוטה CAI מוטה; מותי] KAR מותי אנהי CAI מוטי אנהי; ראיתי] CAI KAR ליתא

א5 א 8 וסדתו] CAI וסדתהו; וציקת אקבר] CAI ליתא; וזלמתו] KAR וצלמתו CAI ליתא

א5 א 9 ומלך אמות והיבתו] CAI ליתא; פילמה פרג] CAI KAR ליתא

א5 א 10 אסכֶץ מן כאמהו] CAI KAR ליתא; פקלת] CAI KAR פקא

א5 א 11 לאדר] CAI לקד; אמר] CAI סוא; עזים] KAR עצים CAI עטים; פי] CAI KAR ליתא

א5 א 12 מתעלם] KAR תעלם CAI ותעלם; יאייהו] KAR יא איהו CAI יא איוהא; אסכֶץ] CAI KAR אשכֶץ; באינלי] CAI KAR באן לי

[...] God stopped providing me grace, Almighty in His kingdom, and converted it to sin and burden, immoral and confinement". When the skull fell silent, the man said: "O skull, I want you to tell me, how did you see the dead? How did you die? How did you find death with its intensity, confinement and darkness? How did you find the Angel of Death in his greatness?" When the man fell silent, the skull said: "You have inquired about a great matter, so know this, O man, that [today] I have been [...]"

¹³² קא is written on the first line of 13b, but written פקא in the catch word of the preceding folio (13a), in CAI.

¹³³ Sic! The nun is incorrectly written as a gimel in CAI.

13	איום מייתה ארבעמייה וסבעין
14	עם וכונת דאך איום דכאלת לל
15	חמאם לאגל אסתגסל פי אכדתני
16	אסכרה וגוסית פיא חמאם פיגו
ש"ד	אכדוני

ב5

1	אכדוני ואנה מוגסי וטרעוני ברה
2	ולבסוני חויגי ולם קדרו יפיקוני
3	מן גוסתי פיגו חמאונני וסיעוני לל
4	בת ורקדוני עלה פראסי ועלה סריר
5	ממלכתי ואגואר ואעביד חואל ⁷ ייה
6	יכדמוני כפי אחין אסגמעו א ⁷ ל
7	חוכמה ואל תובבה לאגל מה
8	ידאוני וגסום מפסלי ולקוני לם

א 13 מייתה] CAI ואנא מיתה; ארבעמייה] KAR ארבע מאיא CAI ארבע מאיה
א 14 עם] KAR עם CAI סנה; דאך] KAR דא CAI ליתא; דכאלת] CAI KAR דכלת; לל] CAI KAR ליתא
א 15 חמאם] CAI KAR ללחמאם; לאגל אסתגסל] KAR לנתגסיל CAI לנסתחמא; פי אכדתני] KAR פאכדתני CAI פי דולת
א 16 אסכרה] KAR אצ⁷כרה CAI גוא אחמאם ווקעת; וגוסית] KAR וגשית CAI וגושית; פיא חמאם] KAR פי
אחמאם CAI ליתא; פיגו] KAR פגו CAI פי גוא
ב 1 ואנה] CAI ואנא; מוגסי] KAR מוגזי CAI מוגשי; וטרעוני] CAI KAR וטלעוני; ברה] CAI ברא
ב 2 חויגי] KAR חואיגי CAI חואיגי; יפיקוני] KAR יפיקוני CAI יפוקוני
ב 3 גוסתי] KAR גשתי CAI גשוותי; פיגו] KAR פגו CAI פי; חמאונני] CAI KAR חמלונני; וסיעוני לל] KAR
ושייעוני אי CAI ואכדוני
ב 4 בת] KAR אלבית CAI ללבית; עלה] KAR עלי; פראסי] KAR פראסי CAI פראסי; ועלה] KAR ועלי; סריר] CAI
וסיירי
ב 5 ממלכתי] CAI וא עביד; ואגואר] CAI ואגואר; ואעביד] CAI ואממליך; חואל⁷ייה] KAR חואלייא CAI ליתא
ב 6 כפי אחין] KAR פי אחין CAI פא חין; אסגמעו א⁷ל] KAR אתגמעו CAI אנגמעו גמיע;
ב 7 חוכמה] KAR אחוכמא; CAI אחוכמה; ואל תובבה] KAR ואאטבא CAI ואאטיבה; מה] KAR מא CAI אנהום
ב 8 ידאוני] KAR ינצרוני וידאוני CAI ידאוני; וגסום] KAR וגסו CAI ליתא; מפסלי] CAI KAR מפצלי; ולקוני
לם] KAR ולם CAI וראו אן לם

[...] today [I have been] dead for four hundred and seventy years. That very day, I was going to the bath to clean myself when the intoxication of death struck me and I lost my consciousness. As I was lying unconscious, they came, took me out and put on my clothes. They could not wake me up from my unconsciousness, and carried me to my home and put me to bed in my kingdom's castle. The concubines and the servants stood around me, serving me. Then, the doctors gathered to give me medication, and examine my limbs, and found that none [...]

9	אנפע ומנגמלת אקדוייה ואל
10	דהנאת לם ינפעני סי מנהו ² ם?
11	אכדאן פלמה כאן כאמיש יו<..>
12	וכאמיש וקת וכאנו אגמעה
13	מסתנזרין בקני אערק ועריקת
14	עואץ אעראק אספר ווגהי אסואד
15	וגורית עיוני ואסנני סככו ולסאני
16	אסואד ונזלת עלייה סכרית אמות
ש"ד	ושמעת

א6

1	ושמעת אקאילין יקולו כֹדוה
2	מה בקה פיסני טאייב פי בכיוה
3	א ² הלי עלייה ולם קדרו יכלצוני
4	מן אמות פי דאכל אייה ופידו

ב 9 אנפע] KAR ינפעני שי; ומנגמלת אקדוייה] KAR מן אדוויי CAI ען א אדוויי; ואל] CAI KAR ליתא
ב 10 דהנאת] KAR ואדהאן CAI ואדהאן; לם ינפעני סי מנהו²ם?] CAI KAR ליתא
ב 11 אכדאן] ליתא; פלמה] CAI KAR פלמא; פלמה כאן] KAR פלמא פאת עלייא; כאמיש] KAR
CAI כאמס; יו<..>] CAI KAR יום
ב 12 וכאמיש] CAI KAR וכאמס; אגמעה] KAR מסתנזרין אגמעה CAI מסתנזרין אגמעה
ב 13 מסתנזרין] CAI KAR ליתא; בקני] KAR באיני CAI אנני; אערק] CAI אערק בקא; ועריקת] CAI KAR ליתא
ב 14 עואץ] KAR ועוואץ CAI עוואץ; אעראק] CAI KAR אערק; אספר] CAI KAR אצפר; ווגהי] CAI KAR
וגהי; אסואד] KAR ואסווד CAI ולסווד
ב 15 וגורית עיוני אסנני סככו ולסאני] KAR לסאני ואתשככת וגורית עיוני פי וגהי CAI לסאני ואתשככת אסנני
וגארית עיוני פי וגהי
ב 16 אסואד] CAI KAR ליתא; עלייה] CAI KAR עלייא; סכרית] KAR סכראת CAI סכרת
א 1 ושמעת] CAI KAR ושמעת
א 2 מה] CAI KAR מא; בקה] CAI KAR בקא; פיסני] KAR פיה שי CAI פיה שיא; טאייב] KAR טייב CAI מן
אטייבה; פי בכיוה] KAR פכיון CAI פי בכיו
א 3 א²הלי] KAR ואכואתי CAI ואכואתי; עלייה] CAI KAR עלייא; קדרו] CAI קדרו אנהום
א 4 מן אמות] CAI ובעד דאך ראית מלך אמות; פי דאכל] KAR פגא CAI גא; אייה] CAI KAR אייא; ופידו]
KAR ובידהו CAI ופי ידו

[...] of the medicines had worked, and the oils did not work adequately. When the fifth day came, everyone was waiting for me to sweat, but instead of sweating, my face became pale, my eyes shrunk, my teeth were stinging, my tongue turned black, and the intoxication of death went away. I heard someone say: "Take him away, there is nothing living left in him". So my people wept for me. They could not save me from death. Then he came to me, carrying [a raised sword] in his hands [...]

5	סיף מסלות ואסקני כאס אלמות
6	א'מר? מן אעלקם ובעד זאך קטע
7	אחלקום באסיף ואמה צורת
8	מאך אלמות להו לגלין פי אספל
9	אקרץ וראסהו פי אשמה וכל
10	<..> דאנו מליאן עיון ולהו אנגחה
11	ל'רחמה ואנגחה לנקמה ולהו צ'ה'ר?
12	אחמר וצ'הר אביץ ולון סערהו
13	כולו אביץ ולו סית וגוה וגה
14	עלה ימינו וגה עלה ישארהו
15	וגה פוק רסהו וגה תחת דקנהו
16	וגה כ'אף צ'הרהו וגה קודמהו
	פי ש"ד

- א 5 ואסקני CAI KAR ואסקאני; אלמות CAI אלמות אדי
- א 6 א'מר? CAI KAR אמר; זאך KAR דלך CAI דאך
- א 7 ואמה צורת KAR ואמא צורת CAI ליתא
- א 8 מאך אלמות להו CAI ליתא; לגלין KAR רגלין CAI ורגליה; אספל CAI אאספל
- א 9 אקרץ CAI ליתא; וראסהו CAI ומלך אלמות ראסו; פי CAI תחצל; אשמה KAR אסמא CAI אסמה; וכל KAR וכול
- א 10 <..> דאנו CAI KAR בדנו; מליאן KAR מלאן CAI מליאן; עיון KAR עינין CAI ענין; אנגחה CAI אנגחא
- א 11 ל'רחמה CAI KAR ללרחמה; ואנגחה CAI ואנגחא; לנקמה CAI KAR ללנקמה; ולהו להו; צ'ה'ר? CAI צ'ה'ר
- KAR צדר CAI סדר
- א 12 וצ'הר KAR וצדר CAI וסדר; אביץ CAI אביץ; ולון סערהו KAR ולון שערהו CAI ליתא
- א 13 כולו אביץ CAI ליתא; ולו CAI ולהו; סית וגוה; סתה' וגוה CAI סתת וגוה
- א 14 עלה KAR עלי; ימינו KAR ימינהו; וגה CAI KAR וגוה; עלה KAR עלי; ישארהו KAR יסארהו CAI יסארו
- א 15 וגה CAI KAR וגוה; רסהו KAR ראסהו CAI ראסו; וגה CAI KAR וגוה; דקנהו CAI דקנו
- א 16 וגה CAI KAR וגוה; צ'הרהו CAI סדרו; וגה CAI KAR וגוה; קודמהו KAR קודמהו CAI קודאמו

[...] a raised sword [in his hands] and made me drink the horribly bitter glass of death. Then he slit my throat with the sword. When it comes to his appearance, the Angel of Death has his two feet on the ground while his head reaches the sky. His body is full of eyes, he has wings for mercy and wings for punishment. He has a red back and a white back, the color of his hair is all white, and he has six faces. One on his right and one on his left, one on the top of his head and one underneath his chin, one on his back and one in the front. [...]

- 1 פילמה פרגית מין כאמהא פיקל
- 2 להא זאך אסכץ ואיש מענה האדי
- 3 אסאת וגה פי את אגמגמה פימתעלם
- 4 יאייהו אסכץ בקין סאתני עאן אמר
- 5 עזים ותעלם <..> יייהו אסכץ בא²?י²
- 6 אול וגה אד²?י² עלה ימינו יקבץ
- 7 בהו ארוח ישראל ואוגה אדי עלה
- 8 יסרהו יונצר בהו אהל אשמואת
- 9 אעאייה ואוגה אדי תחת דקנהו
- 10 יונצר בהו אהל אארץ ואוגה
- 11 אדי כאף דהרהו יונצר בהו אהל
- 12 אכופאר ואוגה אדי קודמהו יונצר
- 13 בהו אהל אנאר והי גהנם פיקל

- ב6 1 פילמה פרגית מין כאמהא] KAR ליתא; פיקל] KAR פקאלהא CAI פקא
- ב6 2 להא] KAR ליתא; זאך] KAR דלך CAI דאך; אסכץ] KAR אשכץ; ואיש] CAI ומאזה; מענה] KAR מעני CAI מענת; האדי] KAR הדא CAI האדה
- ב6 3 אסאת] KAR אסאת CAI ליתא; וגה] KAR וגה CAI אוגה; פי את] KAR פקאת CAI פקאת להו; פימתעלם] KAR תעלם CAI ליתא
- ב6 4 יאייהו] KAR יא איהו CAI יא איהוה; אסכץ] KAR אשכץ; בקין סאתני עאן אמר] KAR ליתא CAI נקול לך עלה מענת האדה אוגה
- ב6 5 עזים ותעלם <..> יייהו אסכץ] KAR ליתא CAI והוא; בא²?י²] KAR באן CAI אן
- ב6 6 אול וגה] KAR אוגה CAI אוגה; אד²?י²] KAR אדי CAI אדי; עלה] KAR עלי; ימינו] KAR ימינהו
- ב6 7 בהי] CAI בהי; ארוח] KAR ארווח CAI ארווח; ישראל] CAI אסראיל בעד אעומר אטוויל; אדי עלה] KAR אדי
- ב6 8 יסרהו] KAR יסארהו CAI יסארו; יונצר] CAI יקבץ בהי ארוואח אומות העולם וא וגה אדי פוק; בהו] CAI בהי; אהל] KAR אהל; אשמואת] KAR אסמאואת CAI אסמוואת
- ב6 9 אעאייה] KAR אעאייה; ואוגה] CAI וא וגה; אדי] KAR אדי; דקנהו] CAI דקנו
- ב6 10 בהו] CAI בהי; אהל] KAR אהל CAI לאהל
- ב6 11 אדי] KAR אדי; דהרהו] KAR דהרהו CAI סדרו; יונצר] KAR יונצור; בהו] CAI אהל] KAR לאהל
- ב6 12 אכופאר ואוגה אדי קודמהו יונצר] KAR אכופאר ואוגה אדי קודמהו יונצור CAI ליתא
- ב6 13 בהו אהל] KAR בהו לאהל; ליתא; והי] CAI והיא; גהנם] CAI גהינם; פיקל] KAR פקא CAI קאל

[...] When the skull fell silent, the man said to it: "What is the meaning of these six faces?" So the skull said: "You have inquired about a great matter, so know this, O man. The first face lay hold of the soul of Israel, the face to its left beholds to the people of the High Heaven, and the face underneath his chin watches over the people of the Earth. The face on his back looks to the infidels, and the one on the front sees to the people of Hell, which is Jahannam, the blazing Fire. [The man] said [...]"

14	להא דאך אסכץ וכיף ראיתי סכר <..>
15	אמות ואחולהא פקלת אגמגמה
16	פימתעלם יאייהו אסכץ באני
ש"ד	ראית

7א	
1	ראית מאך אמות והיבתו ומעו
2	מליכה מין אעאיין ואמה עיונהום
3	מתל מסאעל אנאר ופי אידיהום
4	קואציב מין אחדיד ותעלם יאייהו
5	אסכץ למ יהדו דואבהום עלייה
6	הום אהל אשמואת אעלייה
7	ואיצה בינתהום סתין מאלך
8	ואתקדם מנהום עשרה עלייה
9	ואבצו עלה לסאני וסחאבו

ב6 14 דאך אסכץ [CAI KAR אשכץ; סכר <..>] CAI KAR סכרת
ב6 15 ואחולהא [CAI KAR ואהלהא וחאהא ומלך אמות; פקלת] KAR פקאת; CAI פי קאת להו
ב6 16 פימתעלם יאייהו אסכץ באני [CAI KAR נעם
7א 1 מאך] CAI KAR מלך; והיבתו] CAI KAR ליתא; ומעו] CAI ומעהו
7א 2 מליכה מין] KAR כלק מן אמלאיכה CAI מן אמלאיכה; ואמה] CAI KAR ליתא; עיונהום] KAR ועיונהום;
CAI ועניהום
7א 3 מתל] CAI מתל; מסאעל] CAI KAR משאעל; אידיהום] KAR אידיהום CAI איידיהום
7א 4 קואציב] KAR קואציבן CAI קאציבן; מין] CAI KAR מן; אחדיד] KAR חדיד; ותעלם יאייהו] CAI KAR
ליתא
7א 5 אסכץ] CAI KAR ליתא; יהדו] KAR יוהדא CAI יוהדא; דואבהום עלייה] KAR גצבהום CAI גצבהום אבדא
7א 6 הום אהל אשמואת אעלייה] KAR לא עלי אהל אשמואת ולא עלי אהל אארץ CAI לא פי אסמה ולא פי אארץ
7א 7 ואיצה] KAR ואיצא; בינתהום] CAI KAR בינאתהום; מאלך] KAR מלך
7א 8 ואתקדם] CAI KAR ואתקדמו; מנהום עשרה עלייה] CAI KAR עליי ומסכוני עשרה מנהום
7א 9 ואבצו] CAI KAR קבצו; עלה] KAR עלי; וסחאבו] CAI KAR וסחבו

[...] The man [said] to the skull: "How did you find the intoxication and conditions of death?" So the skull said: "Know this, O man, in truth I saw the Angel of Death and his eminence, and together with him was the highest of angels. Their eyes were like torches of fire, and in their hands were iron bars. Know this, O man, they did not soothe their anger, these peoples of the High Heaven. Among them were sixty angels. Ten of them came forth, clutched my tongue and pulled out [...]"

10	אכאליב! אַחדיד! עלייה וקומת? סר?קת
11	סרקה עזימה פי פזעית כול א<..>ס
12	אלדי כאנו חואלייה וקתאדם מנהום
13	עשרה תאני מרה ואכצו עלה
14	יאדייה קתאדם מנהום עשרה
15	תאת מרה קעדו עלה באטני
16	ופי אידיהום אכאליב אַחדיד מ<..>
ש"ד א	

ב7

1	אנאר וימה אקוהא כפי אל חין
2	וקעית פי גסמי אנאר אל מוח'ק'קה
3	וימה אקוהא ובעד זאך אכדו רוחי
4	ועדבוני ורגעו <..>אמוני ואעדוני

א7 10 'אכאליב' CAI KAR אכלאם¹³⁴; 'אחדיד' עלייה וקומת CAI KAR ליתא; 'סר?קת' CAI KAR שרוקת
א7 11 סרקה CAI KAR שרקה; עזימה CAI KAR עזימה; פי פזעית CAI KAR ומן שידת אל שרקה פזעת
CAI ומן שדת אשרקה פזעית; א<..>ס CAI אנאס
א7 12 אלדי CAI אדי CAI אדי; חואלייה CAI חואליי CAI חואליי; וקתאדם CAI ליתא
א7 13 תאני מרה; ליתא; ואכצו CAI KAR קבצו; עלה CAI עלי
א7 14 יאדייה CAI ידיי CAI אידאיה; קתאדם מנהום עשרה CAI ועשרה מנהום
א7 15 תאת מרה CAI ליתא; קעדו CAI דכלו; עלה CAI עלי CAI; באטני CAI בטני
א7 16 אידיהום CAI אידיהום; אכאליב CAI כלאליב; אַחדיד CAI חדיד CAI
מן אַחדיד; מ<..> CAI מתל
ב7 1 וימה אקוהא CAI ואקוהא; כפי CAI ופא; אל חין CAI אַחין CAI חין
ב7 2 וקעית CAI וקעת; אנאר CAI נאר; אל מוח'ק'קה CAI אמוחרקה
ב7 3 וימה CAI יא מא; אקוהא CAI אקוהא; זאך CAI דלך CAI דאך
ב7 4 ועדבוני CAI ועדבוני; ורגעו <..>אמוני¹³⁵ וקעדוני CAI ועדבוני

[...] the words. I screamed out loud, scaring all the people around me. Again, ten of them came forth and clutched my hands. For the third time, ten of them came forth and sat on my stomach, and in their hands were iron hooks of fire. A strong, burning fire came into my body. Then, they took my soul, tortured me and placed me [...]

¹³⁴ It is plausible that GAM has a type error, as קבצו עלי/עלה לסאני וסחבו אכלאם, in the corresponding parts of KAR and CAI, respectively, translates 'they clutched my tongue and pulled the words'.

¹³⁵ This is probably קאמוני, as it occurs in similar contexts later in the manuscript (8b, 11; 9a, 3).

עלה חילי פ>...< ת יא מולאייה	5
וימוראדי א'י? אפדי רוח?י? בגמיע	6
מאי כפי אחין גה אייה ואחד מנהום	7
ודרבני דרבה עלה וגהי כפי אחין	8
וקעית פי אארץ פיאכאק ס"ו ע"ו	9
פי מולכהו למ יקבל ברטיר ולה	10
רסהו וסעאת מא אכדו רוחי	11
כאנת אסד מין אף דרבית סף	12
ובעד זאך גו אייה אמגסלין	13
יגסלוני וכפנוני וחמלוני וחטוני	14
פי האדה אמכאן תם חפרו ליה	15
קבר ונזלוני פי האדה אמכאן	16
ורדמו ש"ד	

א8

1 ורדמו עלייה בא תוראב כפי א

- ב7 5 עלה חילי [CAI KAR ליתא; פ>...< ת; CAI KAR פקולת; מולאייה] CAI KAR מולאי
- ב7 6 וימוראדי [CAI KAR מוראדי; א'י? KAR אן CAI ליתא; רוח?י? CAI KAR נפסי
- ב7 7 מאי [KAR מאלי; כפי] CAI פ; גה אייה ואחד מנהום [KAR פפי אחין CAI ליתא
- ב7 8 ודרבני [CAI KAR צרבני ואחד מנהום; דרבה] CAI KAR צרבה; עלה [KAR עלי; כפי] KAR פפי CAI ליתא
- ב7 9 וקעית [CAI KAR וקעת; פיאכאק] KAR וקא אחק CAI וקאל לי אן אחק; ס"ו ע"ו [KAR סב' ותע' CAI ס"ו
- ב7 10 פי מולכהו [CAI KAR ליתא; ברטיר] KAR רשנא ולא ברטיל CAI רשווה ולא תברטיל
- ב7 11 רסהו [CAI KAR ליתא; אכדו] CAI KAR קבצו
- ב7 12 אסד [CAI KAR אשד; מין] CAI KAR מן; דרבית] CAI KAR צרבת
- ב7 13 זאך [KAR דלך CAI זאך; גו] CAI גוא; אמגסלין] CAI KAR אמגסלין
- ב7 14 יגסלוני [KAR גסלוני CAI וגסלוה; וכפנוני] CAI וכפנוה; וחמלוני] CAI וחמלוה; וחטוני] CAI וחטוה
- ב7 15 פי [KAR אי; האדה] KAR הדא CAI האדה; תם] CAI תם; ליה] KAR לי CAI להו
- ב7 16 קבר [KAR אקבר; ונזלוני] CAI וחטוה; פי האדה אמכאן] CAI KAR פיה
- א8 1 עלייה [KAR עלייה CAI עליה; בא] KAR ליתא; תוראב] KAR אתוראב CAI תוראב; כפי א' KAR פפי CAI פ' CAI

[...] sitting by myself. I said: *My Master, my Desire, I would sacrifice all my wealth to save my soul.* One of them came to me and hit me in the face so I fell to the ground. God, may He be Glorified and Exalted in His kingdom, refused to accept the bribe. The time when they took my soul was stronger than one thousand strokes from a sword. Thereafter, the bathers came to wash and shroud me, and they took me to this place. Then, they dug me a grave, lowered me into it and covered with dirt. [...]

חין רגעית רוחי אלייא באתאני	2
כמה מה כונת פִּיחא אדוניה ובעד	3
זאך דאכלו אלייה מאיכה אלדי	4
מתוכלין עלה אדוניה ובעד זאך	5
תם או לי יא ויל?ך? <...> יגאזיך	6
באפעאך כמה עדמתנה ארחה	7
פי אדוניה ובעד זאך חסבוני עלה	8
גמיע אפעאי אלדי פעלתה פי	9
אדוניה ובעד זאך או לי יום אל	10
פלאני פעלת כדה וכדה ויום אפלאני	11
פעלת כדה וכדה ובעד זאך ארדו	12
עלה לסאני וקלו לי יאווילך דאך	13

- א8 2 חין [CAI KAR אחין; רגעית] [CAI KAR רגעית; אלייא] [CAI KAR באתאני] ליתא
- א8 3 כמה מה [KAR כמתל מה CAI כמא; פִּיחא] [KAR פי הדא CAI פי האדה; אדוניה] [KAR אדוניה CAI אדנייה]
- א8 4 זאך [KAR דלך CAI זאך; דאכלו] [CAI KAR דכלו; אלייה] [KAR אייא CAI עלייא; מאיכה] [KAR מאכין]
- CAI מלאכין; אלדי] [CAI KAR ליתא
- א8 5 מתוכלין [CAI KAR אמתוכלין; עלה] [KAR עלי; אדוניה] [KAR אדוניה CAI אדונייה]
- א8 6 תםאו [KAR קאו CAI וקאלו; יא ויל?ך? <...>] [CAI KAR אלה]
- א8 7 באפעאך [CAI אפעאלך; כמה] [KAR כמא CAI מתל מא; עדמתנה] [KAR עדמתנא; ארחה] [KAR אראחה]
- CAI ראחה
- א8 8 פי אדוניה [KAR פי אדוניה CAI פא דונייה; ובעד זאך] [KAR תום CAI תום; חסבוני] [CAI KAR חסבוני;
- KAR עלי
- א8 9 אפעאי] [CAI אפעאלי; אלדי] [KAR אדי CAI אלדי; פעלתה] [CAI KAR פעלתהא]
- א8 10 אדוניה [KAR הדא אדוניה CAI האדהי אדונייה; ובעד זאך] [CAI KAR ליתא; או] [KAR וקאו CAI וקאו;
- אל] [CAI KAR ליתא
- א8 11 פלאני] [CAI KAR אפלאני; כדה] [KAR כדא CAI וכדא]
- א8 12 כדה וכדה] [KAR כדא וכדא CAI וכדא; ובעד זאך] [KAR ולאגל דאך CAI לאגל זאך; ארדו] [KAR]
- CAI מסכו
- א8 13 עלה לסאני וקלו לי] [KAR לסאנך מן כותר דנובך CAI לסאנך מן כותר לְנובך; יאווילך] [KAR ויא וילך CAI]
- ויא וילך; דאך] [CAI דאך

[...] My soul returned to me again, as if I was in this world, and angels assigned to this Earth, came to me and they said: *Oh and alas, God will judge you from your deeds, in which we took away the Earth's comfort.* They judged me for all the deeds I had conducted in this world, and said: *This day you did so-and-so, and that day you did so-and-so.* Then they prevented me from talking, and said: *Oh and alas, be aware of [...]*

14	איום אלדי יחכום פי א מלאך א
15	גבאר ובעד זאך כארגו אמאיכה
16	אאולאנין ודאכלו עלייה מאיכה
ש"ד	אוכרין

8ב	
1	אוכרין טוא כלגבא אסודין א קאמ'ה?
2	ושעורהום מלפופה עלה אכתפהום
3	ומנכירהום מסבולה עלה אכתפהום
4	פימה זעקו עלייה פיק<..>לת מין אנתו'ם?
5	פיקלו לי אחנה נאכר ונכ<..> ואגצ'<..>
6	מאבין עיונהום כפי א<..>ין אסתאת
7	ארחמה מין קולבהום ובעד זאלך
8	אבצוני מין דקני ואמוני ורגעו

8א 14 אלדי] KAR איום אדי תנהתך פיד ויום אדי CAI איום אדי תנהתך פיה ויום אן; פי] CAI KAR פיד; א מלאך
 א] KAR אמלך CAI אמלך א
 8א 15 גבאר] KAR אגבאר; זאך] KAR דלך CAI זאך; כארגו] KAR כרגו CAI כרגוא; אמאיכה] KAR אמלכין
 CAI אמלאכין
 8א 16 אאולאנין] KAR אאולאניין CAI אאולאניין; ודאכלו] CAI KAR ודכלו; עלייה] CAI KAR עלייא; מאיכה]
 KAR מלכין CAI מלאכין
 8א 1 טוא] CAI KAR טוא; כלגבא] KAR כאגבא CAI עלו אגבל; אסודין] CAI אסודין; א קאמ'ה?] CAI KAR
 אקאמה
 8א 2 מלפופה] CAI מלפופין; עלה] KAR עלי; אכתפהום] KAR אכאאפאח'ם CAI ליתא
 8א 3 ומנכירהום] KAR מנכירהום CAI מנכירהום; מסבולה] KAR מסבולין CAI ומסבולין; עלה] KAR עלי;
 אכתפהום] KAR אכתאפהום CAI כתאפהום
 8א 4 פימה] CAI KAR ליתא; עלייה] CAI KAR עלייא; פיק<..>לת] KAR קולת CAI פי קולת להום; מין] KAR
 מין CAI מן; אנתו'ם?] KAR אנתו CAI אנתום
 8א 5 פיקלו] KAR קאו; CAI פי קאו; אחנה] KAR אחנא CAI נחן; ונכ<..>] CAI KAR ונכיר; ואגצ'<..>] KAR
 CAI ואגצב
 8א 6 מאבין] CAI KAR בין; CAI עניהום; כפי א<..>ין] CAI פאחין; אסתאת] CAI KAR אנקלעת
 8א 7 ארחמה] CAI KAR ארחמה; מין] CAI KAR מן; קולבהום] CAI KAR קולבהום; ובעד זאלך] CAI KAR
 ליתא
 8א 8 אבצוני] KAR קבצוני CAI וקבצוני; מין] CAI KAR מן; ואמוני ורגעו] CAI KAR ליתא

[...] *the day that the miraculous King will be judging!* After that, the first angels left and the other angels came, black-bodied and tall as mountains, hair hanging curly on their shoulders and their noses reaching down below their faces. They screamed at me, and I asked: *Who are you?* With eyes burning with anger and the mercy was drawn out of their hearts, they told me: *We are Nākir and Nakir.* They grabbed my chin, forced me up, and [sat me] once again [...]

9	אעדוני עלה חיל ודרבוני בצות
10	אנאר אלזי הו פיאדהום ובעד זאך
11	נזלוני לאספל אסאפלין ורגעו קאמוני
12	ועדוני עלה חילי ואלולי האדה
13	אעזאב כלו מין כותר זנובך ובעד
14	זאך חין זאעקלי מני וארתעבת
15	ואשויש כאתרי עלה רוחי פיקולת
16	להום אנתום רבי ואהי פימה רגעו
ש"ד	אלייה

9א

1	אלייה בא תאני וצרבוני עלה וגהי
2	כפי אחין נזלת לאספל אסאפלין ובע'
3	ובעד זאך רגעו קאמוני ואעדוני

- 8ב 9 אעדוני [CAI KAR וקעדוני; עלה] [KAR עלי; חיל] [CAI KAR חילי; ודרבוני] [CAI KAR וצרבוני; בצות] CAI בצוט
- 8ב 10 אנאר [CAI מן אנאר; אלזי] [KAR אדי CAI אלזי; הו פיאדהום] [KAR פי יאדיהום CAI פי איידיהום; ובעד זאך] [CAI KAR ליתא]
- 8ב 11 נזלוני [CAI ונזלוני; לאספל] [CAI פי אספל; אסאפלין] [CAI אסאפלין]
- 8ב 12 ועדוני [CAI KAR וקעדוני; עלה חילי] [CAI KAR ליתא; ואלולי] [KAR וקאולי CAI וקאו לי; האדה] [KAR דל CAI האדה]
- 8ב 13 אעזאב [KAR עדאב CAI אעזאב; כלו] [CAI KAR כולו; מין] [CAI KAR מן; זנובך] [KAR דנובך CAI דנובך; ובעד] [ליתא]
- 8ב 14 זאך חין [KAR פי אחין CAI פא חין; זאעקלי] [CAI KAR זל עקלי]
- 8ב 15 ואשויש כאתרי [KAR ואתשווש כאטרי CAI וחזנת; עלה] [KAR עלי; פיקולת] [CAI KAR פיקולת]
- 8ב 16 אנתום [KAR אנתו CAI אגעלכום אנתום; ואהי] [KAR ואהי CAI אהי; פימה רגעו] [KAR פרגעו CAI פי רגעו]
- 9א 1 אלייה בא תאני וצרבוני עלה וגהי [KAR צרבוני צרבה תאניה]
- CAI צרבוני צרבה אוכרה
- 9א 2 כפי אחין [KAR פי אחין CAI פא חין; לאספל] [CAI איצה אה אספל; אסאפלין] [CAI אסאפלין; ובע'] [KAR ליתא]
- 9א 3 ובעד זאך [CAI KAR ליתא; רגעו] [CAI KAR ורגעו; ואעדוני] [CAI KAR ואעדוני]

[...] sat me [once again] by myself and hit me with the whip of fire that they were holding. Then, they took me to the lowest of the low. Again they lifted me up and sat me by myself, and said to me: *All of this pain is for the load of your sins.* I lost my mind and became frightened. My mind confused my soul, and I told them: *You are my Lord, my God.* Again, they came back and hit my face. Then they took me to the lowest of the low. Once again they lifted me up and sat me [...]

עלה חילי ואו לי יאווילך ויאעוקבך	4
<..> בעד זא<..> קולת יארייתך יאקומי	5
לם כונתי ג'ב' תיני ולם כאן אבויה	6
אכדך פיבעד זאך איצה אלו לל	7
ארץ כודיה ואסתנאמי מנו לאנו	8
כאן יאכול כיר ארה ויעבד גירו	9
כפי אחין עצתני אארץ ומין כותר	10
אעצה פימה תבקית עוצאמי לבעץ	11
כפי אחין סלית רוחי ודמועי עלה	12
כדודי איצה עצתני אארץ ומין	13
כותרית אעצה פימה תבקית אארץ	14
עלייה פימה נתקית לי אארץ ואת	15
לי ועזית רבי וכאקי לאני אסתנקם	16
ש"ד מנאך	

- 9א 4 עלה חילי [CAI KAR ליתא; ואו] [CAI KAR וקאו; יאווילך] [CAI KAR יא וילך; ויאעוקבך] [KAR עוקאבך] [CAI עקבך]
- 9א 5 <..> בעד [CAI KAR יבעד; זא<..>] [KAR דלך] [CAI דאך; יארייתך יאקומי] [KAR אומי יאריית] [CAI יא אומי ירייתך]
- 9א 6 כונתי [CAI ליתא; ג'ב' תיני] [CAI ולדתיני; ולם כאן אבויה] [ליתא]
- 9א 7 אכדך פיבעד זאך [ליתא; איצה] [KAR איצא; אלו לל] [CAI קא]
- 9א 8 ארץ [CAI KAR ללארץ; ואסתנאמי] [CAI KAR ואסתנקמי; לאנו] [CAI לאנהו]
- 9א 9 ארה [CAI KAR אלה; גירו] [CAI גירו]
- 9א 10 כפי אחין [KAR פי אחין] [CAI פא חין; עצתני] [CAI מ'צתני; ומין] [CAI ומן; כותר] [CAI עוטם]
- 9א 11 אעצה פימה [KAR שדת אעצא למא; אשריה; תבקית] [CAI KAR טבקת; עוצאמי] [CAI עוטאמי; לבעץ] [CAI KAR בבעצהום אבעץ]
- 9א 12 כפי אחין [KAR פי אחין] [CAI ופא חין; סלית] [KAR סאית] [CAI סאת; רוחי ודמועי] [CAI KAR דמועי; עלה] [KAR עלי] [CAI עלה]
- 9א 13 כדודי [CAI כדור'י; איצה] [KAR איצא; עצתני] [CAI קאת לי; ומין] [CAI ליתא]
- 9א 14 כותרית אעצה פימה תבקית אארץ [CAI KAR ליתא]
- 9א 15 עלייה פימה נתקית לי אארץ ואת [KAR CAI ליתא]
- 9א 16 לי [CAI KAR ליתא; ועזית] [KAR ועזת] [CAI ועזית; רבי] [CAI רבי; וכאקי] [CAI וכאלקי; לאני אסתנקם]
- CAI KAR ליתא

[...] by myself, and said to me: *Oh and alas, be aware of your punishments.* I said: *O Mother, I wish you had never given birth to me, and that my father had never taken your hand.* They said to the Earth: *Seize him and take revenge, because he has stolen God's wealth and worshipped others than Him.* So the ground opened and swallowed me up so that my bones were crushed together by the strength of the jaw, and my soul and tears exuded down my cheek. It opened and swallowed me up so that I was crushed, then started speaking to me, and said: *I swear, by the glory of my Lord, my Creator that I will take revenge [...]*

1	מנאך לאני אנה בנקסי פיך ואנתה
2	מאסי על'ר' דהרי ואיש איום ואנתה
3	פיבטני ועזית רבי וכאקי לאכרץ
4	טארי מינאך כפי אחין דאכלוי עליי'ה?
5	מלאיכה קדרין טוא כלגבא ואכ'
6	ואכרגוני מין האדה א'ק'בר אמכן
7	וחמאוני ללערש ס'ו פימולכהו
8	פי בעד זאך כראג מנאדי ינאדי
9	ויקול לתקדמו אלייה כודוהו וודוהו
10	לגהנם ובעד זאך ודוני לגהנם
11	פיוגדת ללערש ארבע כראסי
12	אویل כורסי לאבונה אברהים א

- 9ב 1 מנאך לאני [CAI KAR ליתא; אנה] CAI KAR [בנקסי] KAR [בנקאסי CAI יא מא כונת מנקאסי; ואנתה] KAR ואנתה CAI ואנתי
- 9ב 2 מאסי [CAI KAR מאשי; על'ר' KAR עלי; דהרי] CAI KAR [צהרי; ואיש איום] KAR ואיש יכון איום CAI ומאלא יכון איום; ואנתה] KAR ואנתה CAI אדי אנתה
- 9ב 3 פיבטני] KAR פי בטני CAI פי בטני; ועזית] KAR ועזת; וכאקי] KAR ואאהי ומולאיי CAI ומוולאיי; לאכרץ] KAR אא אלץ CAI לאלץ
- 9ב 4 טארי] KAR לי תארי CAI טארי; מינאך] CAI KAR מנך; כפי אחין] KAR פי אחין CAI פא חין; דאכלוי] CAI KAR דכלוי; עליי'ה? CAI KAR עלייא
- 9ב 5 מלאיכה] KAR מלכין CAI מלאכין; קדרין] CAI KAR אוכרין; טוא] KAR טוילין CAI טוילין; כלגבא] KAR כאגבא CAI כאל גבל; ואכ'] CAI KAR ליתא
- 9ב 6 ואכרגוני] CAI KAR ואכרגוני; מין] CAI KAR מן; האדה א'ק'בר] CAI KAR אקבר; אמכן] CAI KAR ליתא
- 9ב 7 וחמאוני] CAI KAR וחמלוני; ס'ו פימולכהו] CAI KAR ליתא
- 9ב 8 פי בעד זאך] KAR פי אחין CAI ופא חין; כראג] CAI KAR כרג
- 9ב 9 לתקדמו] CAI KAR לא תקדמוה; אלייה] KAR אייא CAI ליתא; כודוהו] CAI KAR כודוה; וודוהו] CAI ודוה
- 9ב 10 לגהנם] KAR לגהנים CAI גהנים; ובעד זאך ודוני לגהנם] CAI KAR ליתא
- 9ב 11 פיוגדת] CAI KAR וראית; ללערש] CAI KAR אערש ופיה; ארבע] CAI ליתא
- 9ב 12 אویل כורסי] KAR אכורסי אאול CAI כראסי אוואחד; לאבונה אברהים] KAR לאבונא אברהים CAI לאברהם אבינו

[...] *on you, because I have been enduring you while walking on my back. And on the day you were inside my womb, I swear, by the glory of my Lord, my Creator, that I will have my vengeance on you.* Then, almighty angels tall as mountains came to me, took me out of the grave and carried me to His throne, may He be Glorified and Exalted in His kingdom. And then a herald called, saying: *Go forth, seize him and throw him in the blazing Fire.* So they threw me into the blazing Fire. I found that the throne has four chairs. The first one belongs to Father Abraham the [...]

כָּאִיל עֲאִ"ס וְאִכּוּרְסִי אֶתְאֲנִי לֵל	13
סִיִּיאֵד מִשֶּׁה עֲאִ"ס וְתֵאֵת כּוּרְסִי	14
לִלְגֵאֲרִים אֱלֹדִי יִתְגִּירוּ מִיָּן דֵּאֵת	15
נְפּוּסֵהוּם וְרֵאבֵע כּוּרְסִי לִלְכֵאִיפִין	16
ש"ד ארה	

10א

1 ארה ס"ו פיבעד זאך תם חמאונִי	1
2 לגהנהם ותמו יסחטטוני עלה וגהי	2
3 והום ינאדו ויקולו האדה אלדי יועצה	3
4 עלה רבהו פימה דארו אדוניה והום	4
5 יסחטטוני עלה וגהי חתה וצלל אה	5
6 גהנהם פימה וגדת עלה באב גהנהם	6
7 סאך כביר ומנכִירו טוא וכובאר ובין	7

9ב 13 כָּאִיל עֲאִ"ס [KAR אֱלִיל עֲאִ"ס CAI עליה אסלאם; ואכורסי אתאני לל] KAR אתאני CAI ואתאני
9ב 14 סִיִּיאֵד [KAR לסיידנא CAI לסיידנא; משה] KAR מוסי CAI משה רבינו; עֲאִ"ס [CAI עליה אסלאם; ותאֵת
כורסי] KAR ואתאֵת CAI ואתאֵת
9ב 15 לִלְגֵאֲרִים [CAI KAR ללגרים; אלדי] KAR אדי CAI אדי; יתגירו [CAI KAR יתגירו; מין דאת] CAI מן
9ב 16 נְפּוּסֵהוּם [CAI אונפוסהום; וראבע כורסי] CAI KAR ואראבע; ללכאִיפִין [KAR לכאִיפִין CAI לכאִיפִין
10א 1 ארה ס"ו] KAR את"ע CAI אלה סובחאן ותעאה; פיבעד זאך תם] KAR תום CAI תום אנהום; חמאונִי
CAI KAR חמלונִי
10א 2 לגהנהם] KAR אלי גהינם CAI ודוני לגהינם; ותמו יסחטטוני] CAI KAR ושחטטוני; עלה] KAR עלי
10א 3 האדה אלדי] KAR הדא גזא אדי CAI גזא מן
10א 4 עלה] KAR עלי CAI אלה; רבהו] KAR רבו] CAI אאהו; פימה] CAI KAR פי; דארו] CAI KAR דאר;
אדוניה] KAR אדוניה CAI אדוניה; והום] KAR והום CAI פי תנהום
10א 5 יסחטטוני] CAI KAR ישחטטוני; עלה וגהי חתה וצלל אה] KAR חתי וצלל; CAI למא אנני וצלל
10א 6 גהנהם] CAI KAR לבאב גהינם; וגדת] KAR פראית CAI פי ראית; עלה] KAR עלי; גהנהם] CAI KAR
גהינם
10א 7 סאך כביר ומנכִירו טוא וכובאר ובין] KAR שייך כביר ומנאִלִירו טווא ובין CAI שייך כביר מוחתרם ועליה
אהיבה ואחורמה ולאכן אדוכאן טאע טאע מן מנאִלִירו ובין

[...] Friend of God, peace be upon him. The second chair belongs to Master Moses, peace be upon him. The third chair is for those who converted to Judaism out of their own desire. The fourth chair is for those who fear God, peace be upon Him. After that, they brought me to the blazing Fire and started pulling and dragging me around with my (lowered me) face down, called on me saying: *This is the one who does not obey his Lord in the life on Earth*. They pulled and dragged me, face down, until we reached the Jahannam. At the doors of Hell, I saw an old man with a long and big nose, and in [...]

8	איידי אמליכה אמתוכלין עלה א
9	דוניה ועלה גהנהם פיקדמוני אליה
10	פיקל להום אסאך כודוה ועלקו פי
11	אסנסלה אלי טולהא סתין דוראע
12	לקנהו כאן יאכול כיר ארה ס"ו
13	ויעבד גירו ולם יקאמין בארה ס"ו
14	פיבעד זאך לבסוני גלוד חוכם א
15	גלואד וכאנו אגלואד מליאנין חיא
16	ועקרב וימאה אצעבהום וימאה
ש"ד	אקוהום
10ב	
1	אקוהום דלחייאת ואעקרב וימאה
2	אצעבהום וימאה אקוהום דלחייאת

10א 8 איידי אמליכה CAI KAR [אמליכה; אמתוכלין] CAI [אמתוכלין; א] KAR עלי CAI עלה
10א 9 דוניה ועלה גהנהם CAI KAR [גהנהם; פיקדמוני אליה] KAR [פיקדמוני אי גהנים] CAI ליתא
10א 10 פיקל פקא CAI פי קא; להום] CAI ליתא; אסאך] CAI KAR אשיך; ועלקו] CAI KAR ועלקוה
10א 11 אסנסלה¹³⁶ CAI KAR סלסלה; אלי טולהא] CAI KAR טולהא¹³⁷; סתין] CAI KAR סבעין; דוראע
CAI KAR דראע
10א 12 לקנהו] CAI KAR לאנהו; כאן] CAI KAR לם כאן; יאכול כיר ארה] KAR באלה CAI יאמן בא; ס"ו]
KAR תע' CAI תועאה
10א 13 ויעבד גירו ולם יקאמין בארה ס"ו] CAI KAR ליתא
10א 14 פיבעד] KAR פבעד CAI ובעד] זאך] KAR דלך CAI זאך; חוכם א] KAR חוכם CAI מתל
10א 15 גלואד] KAR אגראבאת CAI אגרבאת; אגלואד] CAI KAR ליתא; מליאנין] KAR מליאנין
CAI חייאת] CAI חייאת
10א 16 ועקרב] CAI KAR ועקארב; וימאה] KAR וימאה; וימאה] CAI וליס
10ב 1 אקוהום] KAR אשבהום CAI שביה; דלחייאת] CAI להאדה אחייאת; ואעקרב] CAI ולהאדה אעקארב
10ב 2 אצעבהום וימאה אקוהום דלחייאת] CAI KAR ליתא

[...] his hands were the angels assigned for Earth and Hell. They brought me to him, and he said to them: *Seize him and place him in chains sixty cubits long, because he has stolen God's wealth, Glorified and Exalted be He, he has worshipped others than Him and does not believe in God, Glorified and Exalted be He.* Thereafter, they put me in a leather sackcloth, full of snakes and scorpions. How strong and aggressive those snakes and the scorpions were! How strong and aggressive they were! [...]

¹³⁶ Sic!

¹³⁷ is written in the right margin, in KAR.

3	ואעקרב ולו כאן ס"ו יקזין לוחדה
4	מנהום כאנת תזעזעק אלארץ
5	ובעד זאך תמו יגררוני מן לסאני
6	והום ינאדו ויקולו ה'אד'ה אלזי
7	יועצה עלה רבהו ופי וקאת מה
8	שמע דאך אסכץ דאך דלקומור
9	עלה מה אדעתו אגמגמה וכאן
10	אסכץ יקול לחולה ולהת אלה
11	בלה אעזים ובוכי בוכה אן עזים
12	פיא להא זאך אסכץ יאייהו אל
13	גמגמה פימה אריד מניך אניך
14	תכברני כיף רקיתי אחואל

- 10ב 3 ואעקרב] ליתא; ולו כאן] KAR לו כאן CAI לאן לוכאן; ס"ו יקזין] KAR יאדן את"ע CAI יאזן אלה ס"ו; לוחדה] KAR לואחדה CAI בוואחדה
- 10ב 4 תזעזעק] CAI KAR תזעזע; אלארץ] CAI אארץ
- 10ב 5 זאך תמו] KAR דלך CAI דאך; יגררוני מן לסאני] KAR קבצו עלי לסאני וכרסו לסאני CAI קבצו עלייז וכרגוני
- 10ב 6 והום] CAI והם; ה'אד'ה] KAR הדא CAI האלה; אלזי] KAR גזא אדי CAI גזאת אדי
- 10ב 7 יועצה] KAR יועצא CAI יעצא; עלה רבהו] CAI KAR רבו; ופי וקאת] KAR ופי וקת CAI קא פי וקת; מה] CAI KAR מא
- 10ב 8 שמע] CAI KAR סמע; דאך] KAR דלך CAI דאך; אסכץ] CAI KAR אשכץ; דאך דלקומור] KAR גמיע מא CAI מא
- 10ב 9 עלה מה אדעתו] KAR אתענא עלי דלך CAI תועדא עלה תלך; וכאן] CAI ליתא
- 10ב 10 אסכץ] CAI KAR ליתא; יקול] CAI קא; לחולה] KAR לא חול CAI לא חולא; ולהת] KAR ולא קוה CAI ולא קותא; אלה] CAI KAR אא
- 10ב 11 בלה] KAR באלה CAI באלה; אעזים] KAR אעלי אעטים CAI עאי אעטים; ובוכי] KAR ובכא; בוכה] KAR בוכא CAI בוכא; אן] KAR ליתא; עזים] CAI KAR שדיד
- 10ב 12 פיא] KAR פקא CAI ורגע קא; זאך אסכץ] CAI KAR ליתא; יאייהו] CAI KAR יא; אל] CAI KAR ליתא
- 10ב 13 פימה אריד מניך אניך] CAI KAR ליתא
- 10ב 14 תכברני] CAI KAR כלמיני וחדתיני; רקיתי] CAI KAR ראיתי; אחואל] KAR אחוא CAI אחווא

[...] And if one of them were ever to be allowed out by Him, Glorified and Exalted be He, the Earth would tremble. Then they pulled and dragged me around by my tongue, calling me, saying: *This is the one who does not obey his Lord*. When the man heard what the skull was claiming, he said: "There is no power or strength except with God, the Great," and he wept. Then the man said: "O skull, I want you to tell me, how did you see [...]"

15	גהנהם פימה את להו פימה תעלם
16	באני ראית גהנהם להא שבאע
ש"ד	תבאת

11א

1	תבאת ואחדה מין פוק ואחדה פיאל
2	להא זאך אסכך ואיש מענה האדה
3	אשבאע תבאת פימתעלם יאייהו אל
4	סכך באן אוא תבאה ללנוסארה ותאני
5	תבאה ללדי יכפרו ביום אאימה ותאת
6	תבאה ללמנגמין ואסוחרה וראבע
7	תבאה ללמוסכין ברה ס"ו ע"ו וכאמיש
8	תבאה ללדי יעבדו אאצנאם וסאתית

10ב 15 גהנהם] CAI KAR גהינם; פימה] CAI KAR ליתא; את CAI KAR קאת; פימה] CAI KAR ליתא; תעלם] CAI תעלם יא אייוהא אשכך

10ב 16 באני] CAI KAR באן; ראית] CAI KAR ליתא; גהנהם] KAR CAI גהינם; שבאע] CAI KAR סבע

11א 1 תבאת] CAI KAR טבקאת; מין] CAI KAR ליתא; פיאל] CAI KAR ליתא

11א 2 להא זאך אסכך ואיש מענה האדה] CAI KAR ליתא

11א 3 אשבאע תבאת פימתעלם יאייהו אל] CAI KAR ליתא

11א 4 סכך באן] CAI KAR ליתא; אוא] KAR אול CAI אוול; תבאה] KAR טבקה CAI טבקא; ללנוסארה] KAR ללנצארה CAI ללגאחדין ואכופאר

11א 5 תבאה] KAR טבקה CAI טבקא; ללדי יכפרו] KAR ללדי יוכפרו CAI ללמכאפין; ביום] CAI ליתא; אאימה] KAR אקיאמה CAI ליתא; ותאת] KAR תאת CAI ותאלת

11א 6 תבאה] KAR טבקה CAI טבקא; ללמנגמין ואסוחרה] KAR ללמנגמין ואסוחרה CAI לאלי יכפרו פי תחיית המתים; וראבע] KAR ראבע

11א 7 תבאה] KAR טבקה CAI טבקא; ללמוסכין¹³⁸] KAR ללמושרכין CAI ללמנגמין; ברה] KAR באלה CAI ליתא; ס"ו ע"ו] CAI KAR ליתא; וכאמיש] KAR כאמס CAI וכאמס

11א 8 תבאה] KAR טבקה CAI טבקא; ללדי יעבדו אאצנאם] KAR ללדי יעבדו אאצנאם ואצולבאן CAI מושרכין באלה ס"ו; וסאתית] KAR ליתא CAI וסאדס

[...] Jahannam?" The skull then said to him: "Know this. I have seen Jahannam, and it has seven levels, one above the other." So the man said: "What is the meaning of these levels?" "You should know this, O man. The first level is for the Christians, the second for those who sacrilege the Day of Resurrection, the third for those who work with stars and black magic, and the forth level is for those who worship any other than God Almighty, Glorified and Exalted be He. The fifth level is for those who worship pagan deities, the sixth [...]

¹³⁸ Sic!

9	תבאה ללמה יקמין ס"ו ע"ו וסאבע
10	תבאה ואלדי הי גהנאם והי ללמה
11	יקמין ברה ס"ו ע"ו ומה יפעל סי רוצה
12	ויאייהו אסכך לו נדארת עדאב גהנאם
13	כונת תבכי עואץ אדמוע דמה ארה
14	הו מכפינה ויכפיום סרהא והי בוקיעת
15	אלענה דהרהא נחאס ובטנהא חדיד
16	וסוטהא זאלמין ואהלהא נאר וכלו ² הם?
ש"ד	נאר

- 11a 9 תבאה] KAR ליתא CAI טבקא; ללמה יקמין ס"ו ע"ו] KAR ליתא CAI לאדי יעבדי עבודה זרה; וסאבע] CAI KAR סאבע
- 11a 10 תבאה] KAR ליתא CAI טבקא; ואלדי הי] KAR והי CAI והיא; גהנאם] CAI KAR גהינם; והי ללמה] KAR ללדי מא CAI לאדי למ
- 11a 11 יקמין] KAR יאמן CAI יאמנו; ברה] CAI KAR באלה; ס"ו ע"ו] KAR תע' CAI תועאה; ומה] KAR ומא CAI ולא; יפעל] CAI יפעלו; סי] KAR שי CAI ליתא; רוצה] KAR רוצאה CAI רצאה
- 11a 12 ויאייהו] KAR ויא איהו CAI יא אייוהא; אסכך] KAR אסאיל CAI אסא; לו נדארת] KAR לו נצרת CAI ליתא; עדאב] CAI עדאב; גהנאם] KAR גהינם אלה הו אמוכפינא ויכפיום שרהא אא CAI גהינם אלה ס"ו יכפיהום ויכפינא שרהא לא;
- 11a 13 עואץ] KAR עליהום עואץ CAI עליהום עוואץ; דמה] KAR דמא CAI דמא; ארה] CAI KAR ליתא
- 11a 14 הו מכפינה ויכפיום סרהא] KAR ליתא¹³⁹; והי] CAI והיא; בוקיעת] CAI KAR בוקעת
- 11a 15 אלענה] KAR לענה CAI לעניהא; דהרהא] KAR דהרהא CAI סדרהא; חדיד] KAR רוצוץ וארצהא אעדאב CAI רוצאץ וארצהא אעדאב ופי
- 11a 16 וסוטהא] KAR ווצטהא CAI וצטהא; זאלמין] KAR אטאמין CAI אטולאם; ואהלהא] KAR אהלהא; נאר] KAR מתל אנאר CAI מתל אנאר; וכלו²הם?] KAR כלוהם CAI ליתא

[...] level for those who do not believe in God Almighty, Glorified and Exalted be He, and the seventh level, which is Jahannam, is for those who do not believe in God Almighty, Glorified and Exalted be He, and do not act according to God's will. O man, if you had seen the torture of Jahannam, you would have cried blood rather than tears. God keeps us and you away from its evil, which is the stain of curse and execration. The end of Hell is of copper, and the middle made of iron. Its voice is the voice of the wrongdoers, its people are the people of the blazing Fire, surrounded by [fire]. [...]

¹³⁹ The corresponding part is found above (see 11a, 12) in both KAR and CAI, respectively: אלה הו אמוכפינא ויכפיום; אלה ס"ו יכפיהום ויכפיום שרהא; שרהא

- 1 נאר ועלה ימנהום נאר ועלה יסארהו <..>
- 2 נאר ופוקהום נאר ותחתהום נאר ויזעי <..>
- 3 ללעטאס ולם אחדן ישקיהום וטורסי¹⁴⁰ת?
- 4 אודנהום ועמית עינהום ובותרית
- 5 איידהום ולגליהום תאריהום נד¹⁴¹מי? <..>
- 6 עלה אפעלהום ולם ינפעהום אנדאם
- 7 בשי ויקולו להום אמתוכלין עליה¹⁴¹? <..>
- 8 כונת אמנין סרתו כאינין כונתו
- 9 מסטורין סרתו מהתוכין כונת
- 10 מתלוקין סרתו מחבוסין ויאהל א

11b 1 ועלה ימנהום נאר ועלה יסארהו <..> KAR ותחתהום נאר ופוקהום נאר וכלפהום נאר ועלי ימנהום נאר ועלי יסארהום CAI פוקהום פוקהום נאר וכלפהום נאר ועלה יסארהום

11b 2 ופוקהום נאר ותחתהום נאר [CAI KAR ליתא¹⁴⁰; ויזעי <..>] KAR ויזעקו CAI ויזעקו מן

11b 3 ללעטאס [CAI KAR אעטש; אחדן CAI אחד; ישקיהום] CAI KAR יסקיהום; וטורסי¹⁴⁰ת? CAI KAR וטורשית

11b 4 אודנהום [CAI KAR אודאנהום; ועמית] CAI KAR ועמית; עינהום] KAR עינהום; עינהום; ובותרית [CAI וטלת¹⁴¹ ובטלת

11b 5 איידהום [CAI KAR איידהום; ולגליהום] CAI KAR ורגליהום; תאריהום] CAI והום; נד¹⁴¹מי? <..>] KAR נאדמאני CAI נאדמין

11b 6 עלה [CAI KAR עלי¹⁴¹; אפעלהום] KAR <..> עלאה CAI פֿעלו; ינפעהום] CAI בקא פֿידהום; אנדאם] KAR CAI אנדם

11b 7 בשי [CAI בעד א עדם; להום] CAI אדי; אמתוכלין] CAI מתוכלין; עליה¹⁴¹? <..>] CAI KAR עליהום

11b 8 כונת] CAI כונתום; אמנין] KAR אַמנין CAI אַנין; סרתו] CAI KAR צרתו; כאינין] CAI כאינין; כונתו] CAI כונתום

11b 9 מסטורין] KAR ומסטורין CAI מצטורין; סרתו] CAI KAR צרתו; כונת] KAR כונתו CAI ליתא

11b 10 מתלוקין] KAR מטלוקין CAI ליתא; סרתו] KAR צרתו¹⁴¹ CAI ליתא; מחבוסין] CAI ליתא; ויאהל] CAI KAR ויא אהל

[...] fire. There is fire on their right and fire on their left, fire above them and fire underneath them. They are screaming in thirst, and no one is giving them anything to drink. Their ears have become deaf, their eyes have become blind, their hands and feet are cut of, and they look regretful for their deeds, and the regretfulness does not help them one bit. The angels assigned for Hell are saying: *You were safe and then you became misled, you were protected and became disgraced, you were free and became imprisoned. O people, [...]*

¹⁴⁰ The corresponding part is found above (see 11b, 1) in both KAR and CAI, respectively: ותחתהום נאר ופוקהום נאר ; וכלפהום נאר ; וכלפהום נאר

¹⁴¹ written on the bottom of the folio in KAR. הדי הי קוצה

11	מאלכום גיר אנאר ומה לכוּם טוע<..>
12	גיר 'אנא' ומה להא חטב גירכום
13	ובעד זאך ודוני לשגרה ורסהא
14	מתל ראס אסייטין והי פיאספאל
15	אסאפלין וגוסנהא פיא שמה
16	פימה גוסת מין אגוע וכאנו יעטו ¹⁴² נ<..>
17	מין תמרהא והו מור אמר מין אל
ש"ד	עלקאם

12א

1	עלקם אסקוטרי ואחנצ'ר פיקולתלהום
2	אסקוני פימה אסקוני ובעד זאך אתנתר
3	גלדי מין עלייה ובעד זאך ידוב אגלד

11ב 11 מאלכום גיר [CAI KAR ליתא; ומה] CAI KAR [טוע<..>]; טעם CAI טועאם
 11ב 12 גיר 'אנא' [CAI KAR אא אנאר; ומה] CAI KAR [ומא; גירכום] CAI KAR [אא הומן
 11ב 13 זאך] KAR [דלך CAI דאך; לשגרה] KAR [אי שגרה CAI אלה שגרא; ורסהא] KAR [שירשהא פי אספל
 אארץ וגצונהא פי אסמא ורוס וגצונהא CAI גדרהא פי אספל אארץ וגצונהא פאסמא וראוס וראוס גצונהא
 11ב 14 מתל [CAI מתל; ראס] CAI KAR [רוס; אסייטין] KAR [אסייטין CAI אסייטין; והי פיאספאל] CAI KAR ליתא¹⁴²
 11ב 15 אסאפלין וגוסנהא פיא שמה [CAI KAR ליתא¹⁴³
 11ב 16 פימה גוסת] KAR [פגושית CAI פי גושית; מין] CAI KAR [מין; אגוע] KAR CAI [אגוע ובעד זאך
 יעטו¹⁴²נ<..>] KAR CAI [טעמוני
 11ב 17 מין] CAI KAR [מין; תמרהא] CAI [תמרהא; והו מור] CAI KAR [אמר מין] KAR [ליתא CAI מתל; אל] KAR
 ליתא CAI א
 12א 1 עלקם [KAR ליתא; אסקוטרי] CAI KAR [ליתא; ואחנצ'ר] CAI KAR [ליתא; פיקולתלהום] CAI KAR [פיקולת להום
 12א 2 אסקוני] KAR [מסקוני; פימה] KAR [כאנו CAI וכאנו; אסקוני] KAR [יבקוני CAI יסקוני; זאך] KAR [מא
 CAI <..>א; אתנתר] KAR [אסקוני אתנתר CAI אסקוני אתנתר
 12א 3 גלדי מין עלייה ובעד זאך ידוב אגלד] KAR [לחם וגהי ואתקטעת גלודי מן בדני ובעד דלך CAI לחמי ולחם
 וגהי ואתקטעת גלודי מן עלה לחמי ובעד זאך]

[...] *there is nothing for you but the blazing Fire, there is no food for you but fire, and there is no firewood for Hell but you.* After that, they took me to a tree which top was the head of the devils, standing in the lowest of the low with its branches reaching up to the sky. I lost my conscience out of hunger, and they fed me from its horribly bitter fruits, bitter as Socrates' poisonous hemlock and colocynth. I asked them to give me something to drink, but they did not. After that, my skin started falling off, and then melted. [...]

¹⁴² The corresponding part is found above (see 11b, 13) in both KAR and CAI.

¹⁴³ The corresponding part is found above (see 11b, 13) in both KAR and CAI, respectively: אארץ וגצונהא פי אסמא ; אארץ וגצונהא פאסמא

4	ויגדד גירו ס"ו אף מרא כדה לקני
5	אתבת עלה עדאבי ובעד זאך אלו
6	לי דוס עלה זאך אנאר פליס אדרת
7	אדוס פימה גאבולי נעל מין אנאר
8	ואלו לי אתנעיל בהאדה אל נעל
9	וקום אמסי עלה זאך אנאר יאמין
10	עוצית עלה אלהך ימין נדארת
11	בעינך לחארים אנאס באכייאנה
12	יאמין מדאת יאדך למאל אנאס
13	ימין רטמת בחר אאחראר יאמין

12 א 4 ויגדד גירו ס"ו אף מרא כדה לקני] KAR גדד אלה גלד תאני מתל מא כאן אול בעד דלך יתקטע אגלד ויגדד גירו אף מרא יעמלו¹⁴⁴ כדא לחתא איני; CAI גדד אחק ס"ו גלדי מתל מא כאן אוול ובעד דאך יתקטע אגלד ויתגדד גירו אה גאיית אף מרה ויעמלו כדה לחתה אקדם

12 א 5 אתבת] KAR יתבת¹⁴⁵; עלה] KAR עלי; זאך] KAR דלך CAI דאך; אלו] KAR קאולי CAI קאו

12 א 6 לי] KAR לי; עלה] CAI עלי; זאך] KAR דלך CAI האדה; אנאר] CAI א נאר; פליס] CAI פי לם; אדרת] CAI KAR קדרת

12 א 7 פימה גאבולי] CAI KAR פגאבו לי; מין] CAI KAR מן; אנאר] CAI חדיד ונעלוני

12 א 8 ואלו] CAI KAR וקאו; אתנעיל] KAI אנתעל CAI אתנעל; בהאדה] KAR בהדא CAI בהאדה; אל נעל] CAI KAR אנעל

12 א 9 אמסי] CAI KAR אמשי; עלה זאך אנאר] CAI KAR ליתא; יאמין] CAI KAR יא מן

12 א 10 עלה] KAR עלי CAI ליתא; אלהך] KAR את"ע CAI אאהך; ימין] CAI KAR יא מן; נדארת] CAI KAR נצרת

12 א 11 בעינך] KAR בעינך CAI ליתא; לחארים] KAR לחארים CAI חרים; אנאס] CAI גירך; באכייאנה] KAR באכייאנה

12 א 12 יאמין] CAI KAR יא מן; מדאת] CAI KAR מדיית; יאדך] CAI KAR ידך; למאל] CAI KAR למא; אנאס] CAI KAR גירך

12 א 13 ימין רטמת בחר אאחראר יאמין] KAR יא מן לם שכרת את"ע עלי מא אעטאך יא מן¹⁴⁶ CAI יא מן לא שכרת אלה תועאה עלה מא אעטאך יא מא

God, Glorified and Exalted be He, repeated this over and over again a thousand times, to hold me, and punish me for my sins, just like that. After this, they said: *Step into the flames*. But I was not able to enter. So they brought me shoes of iron and told me: *Take these shoes on. Now, step into the flames, O you who did not obey your God. You, who witnessed with your own eyes and betrayal the fervent people, who stole from the people, who annoyed the respectful, who [...]*

¹⁴⁴ is written in the left margin.

¹⁴⁵ Sic!

¹⁴⁶ The corresponding part is found below (see 12a, 14) in both KAR and CAI: יא מן לטמת בחר אאחראר יא מן

14	דכֹּלַת בטנךְ אַחרֹאם יאמין כסֹּארַת
15	קלוב אַמסֹאכין ואפוקרה ואגורבה
16	ואאיתם ואַראמיל יאמין לם סכֹּרַת
ש"ד	אַרֶה

12ב

1	אַרֶה ס"ו עֵלֶה מֵא אַעטֹאךְ ויאִיִּהוּ
2	אַסְכֵּץ בֹּאן גֵּהֶנֶהם תִּסְמַע סוּטֶהָ
3	מִין בּוֹעַד אֶף שֶׁנָּה וּבַעַד זֹאךְ וּדוּנִי
4	לִגְבֹּא כּוּלוֹ נֹאֵר תַּחְתּוֹ נֹאֵר וּפּוֹקוֹ
5	נֹאֵר פִּיּוּאֲדִי מִין חֲדִיד וּכְאֲנוּ יַעֲדְבוּנִי ² <..>
6	פִּי פִּילְמָה שִׁמַּע זֹאךְ אַסְכֵּץ דֹּאֶלךְ

12א 14 דכֹּלַת [KAR דכלת CAI ליתא; בטנך [KAR לבטנך CAI ליתא; יאמין [KAR יא מן CAI ליתא; כסֹּארַת [KAR לטמַת בחר אַחרֹאֵר יא מן כסֹּרַת CAI לטמַת בחר אַחרֹאֵר יא מן כסֹּרַת
12א 15 אַמסֹאכין ואפוקרה ואגורבה [KAR אַנַּס אַמסֹאכין ואגורבה CAI אַנַּס אַמסֹאכין ואגורבה
12א 16 ואאיתם ואַראמיל [KAR ואַראמיל ואל איתאם CAI ואַראמיל ואִיִּת²?אם; יאמין לם סכֹּרַת [KAR CAI ליתא¹⁴⁷

12ב 1 אַרֶה ס"ו עֵלֶה מֵא אַעטֹאךְ [KAR CAI ליתא¹⁴⁸; ויאִיִּהוּ [KAR ותעלם יא CAI ותעלם יא אייהו
12ב 2 אַסְכֵּץ [KAR אַנַּסֹּאן CAI אַנַּסֹּאן; גֵּהֶנֶהם [KAR גֹּמֶק גֵּהֶנֶם אֶף סֵנָה CAI גֹּמֶק²? גֵּהֶנֶם יִנּוּל פִּיֶּהָ אַאנַּסֹּאן
אֶף סֵנָה לִמָּא יַחְצֵל אַקְרֹאֵר; תִּסְמַע [KAR CAI וינסמע; סוּטֶהָ [KAR CAI צוּטֶהָ
12ב 3 מִין [KAR CAI מן; בּוֹעַד [KAR בעיד; שֶׁנָּה [KAR CAI סנה; זֹאךְ [KAR דלך CAI דֹּאֶךְ
12ב 4 לִגְבֹּא [KAR אִי גִבֵּל CAI אֶה גִבֵּל; תַּחְתּוֹ נֹאֵר וּפּוֹקוֹ [KAR CAI ליתא
12ב 5 נֹאֵר פִּיּוּאֲדִי [KAR תַּחְתּוֹ וַאֲדִי CAI תַּחְתּוֹ נֹאֵר וַאֲדִי; מִין [KAR CAI מן; וּכְאֲנוּ [KAR כֹּאנוּ;
יַעֲדְבוּנִי² <..> [KAR CAI יַעֲדְבוּנִי
12ב 6 פִּי [KAR CAI פִּיֶּה; פִּילְמָה [KAR פִּלְמָא; CAI פִּי לִמָּא; שִׁמַּע [KAR CAI סמע; זֹאךְ [KAR דלך CAI
דֹּאֶךְ; אַסְכֵּץ [KAR CAI אַשְׁכֵּץ; דֹּאֶלךְ [KAR דלך CAI דֹּאֶךְ

[...] ate and drank the forbidden, who crushed the hearts of poor, miserable and strangers, of the orphans and the widows. O you, who did not thank God, Glorified and Exalted be He, for what He gave you. Know this, O man, that you can hear the sound of Jahannam from a distance of thousand years. They put me in a mountain that was all fire, in a valley of iron. Underneath was fire and above was fire, and they started punishing me." When the man heard the [...]

¹⁴⁷ The corresponding part is found above שְׁמֵהָק (see 12a, 13) in both KAR and CAI, respectively: יא מן לם שכֹּרַת ; יא מן לא שכֹּרַת

¹⁴⁸ The corresponding part is found above שְׁמֵהָק (see 12a, 13) in both KAR and CAI, respectively: אַתְּ"ע עֵלִי מֵא אַעטֹאךְ ; תּוֹעֵאָה עֵלֶה מֵא אַעטֹאךְ ;

דלקומור פימה אדעה מין אגמגמ<..>	7
וכאן אסכץ גושי עלה וגהו פילמה	8
אפאק מין גושתו פימה בוכי בוכה	9
אין סדיד וסורוק שרקה עזימה תאני	10
מרה פילמה אפאק מין גושתו הו	11
אסכץ פיא יאייהו אגמגמה לאדר	12
סלית רוחי ולם בקה ליחייה פי	13
את אגמגמה האדה כולו מין יועצה	14
עלה רבהו ולה יפעא שי רוצה	15
והו דאר אדונייה ותעלם יאייהו	16
ש"ד א	

- 12ב 7 דלקומור] CAI KAR אאמור; פימה אדעה מין] KAR כולהא אדי נטקת בהום CAI כולהא אדי נטקת פיהום;
אגמגמ<..>] CAI KAR אגמגמה
- 12ב 8 וכאן] CAI וקע; אסכץ] CAI KAR ליתא; גושי] CAI KAR גושי; עלה וגהו] KAR עליהא CAI ליתא;
פילמה] CAI KAR פלמא
- 12ב 9 אפאק] CAI פאק; מין] CAI KAR מן; גושתו] KAR גשוותהי CAI גשוותו; פימה] CAI KAR ליתא; בוכי]
KAR בוכי דלך שכץ CAI בכי דאך אשכץ; בוכה] KAR בוכא CAI בוכא
- 12ב 10 אין] CAI KAR ליתא; סדיד] KAR שדיד CAI עטים; וסורוק] CAI KAR ליתא; שרקה] CAI KAR
ושהק; עזימה] CAI KAR עטימה; תאני] KAR ושאוודת גושת תאני CAI ועאד גושי תאני
- 12ב 11 מרה] CAI ליתא; פילמה] CAI KAR פלמא; אפאק] KAR אפקת CAI פאק; מין] CAI KAR מן; גושתו
הן] KAR גשוותי CAI גשוותו;
- 12ב 12 אסכץ] CAI KAR ליתא; פיא] KAR קולת CAI קאת להו; יאייהו אגמגמה לאדר] KAR יא איהו אגמגמה
לקד CAI יא איהו אסאיל אלה ס"ו יכפינא יכפינא ויכפיהום מן עדאב גהנם קא יא אייהו אגמגמה לקד
- 12ב 13 סלית] KAR סולית CAI סליתי; ולם] CAI ולא; בקה] CAI KAR בקא; ליחייה] KAR לי חיאה CAI לי
חייה; פי] CAI KAR ליתא
- 12ב 14 את] KAR פקאת לה CAI פקאת להו; האדה] KAR הדא CAI האדה; מין] KAR ללדי CAI לאדי; יועצו]
KAR יועצא CAI יעצא
- 12ב 15 עלה רבהו] KAR עלי אלה CAI אלה; ולה] KAR ולא CAI ולם; יפעא שי] KAR יפעל שי CAI יפעל;
רוצה] CAI KAR רוצהא
- 12ב 16 והו] CAI והוא; דאר אדונייה] KAR דאר אדניא CAI ליסעה פי דור אדונייה; יאייהו] KAR יא CAI יא
אייהו

[...] things that the skull was telling him about, he lost his conscience. When he recovered from his unconsciousness, he wept and cried out loud again. When the man recovered from his unconsciousness, he said: "O skull, I have truly had my soul pulled out, and there is no life for me anymore." So the skull said: "All this is for the one who disobeys his Lord and does not please Him when he is in this world. Know this, O [...]"

13א

- 1 אַסכֶּץ כּוּל מַה יַחְטֵרְק אַגְלַד יַגְדִּיד
- 2 גִּירוּ אֶף מֶרֶה הוּ סִ״ו פִּי מוֹלְכֵהוּ חֲתָה
- 3 לֹאנִי אֲתַבֵּת עֲלֶה הָאֲדָה אַעְזָאב
- 4 וְתַעֲלֵם יֵאִיִּהּוּ אַסְכֶּץ אִין פִּי וְאֲדִי
- 5 גֶּהֱנָאם תֵּאֲבֹת כִּבִּיר וּמִלִּין חֵיִיִּאת
- 6 וְעַקְרַב וּמִין כּוֹתֵר זָנוּבִי וְאַפְעָאֲלִי
- 7 כֹּאנֹו יִדְלוּנִי פִי הָאֲדָה אֲתֵאֲבֹת
- 8 אֲנָה וִיִּיָּה אֲסִיִּיטִין אֲלֵדִי כֹאנֹו
- 9 מִתּוֹכְלִין עֲלִיָּיָה פִּידָאָר אֶל דּוֹנִיָּיָה
- 10 וִיגּוֹנִי לִלְפָסָאָד וּגִירוּ תִמִּית פִּיִּהָאֲדָה
- 11 אַעְדָּאב אַרְבַּעַה וְעֶשְׂרִין שָׁנָה

13א 1 אַסכֶּץ [KAR שֶׁכֶּץ CAI אֲשֶׁכֶּץ; מַה [CAI KAR מֵאָ; יַחְטֵרְק [CAI KAR כֹּאן יַחְטֵרְק; אַגְלַד [CAI KAR
גְּלִידִי; יַגְדִּיד [KAR כֹּאן אֲתִיִּעַ וְגִדֵּד לִי גִלֵּד CAI כֹּאן אֱלֹה סִ״וֹת יַגְדֵּד לִי גִלֵּד
13א 2 גִּירוּ [CAI KAR גִּירוּ; אֶף מֶרֶה הוּ סִ״ו פִּי מוֹלְכֵהוּ [CAI KAR לִיתָא; חֲתָה [KAR חֲתִי CAI חֲתָה
13א 3 לֹאנִי [CAI KAR אֲקִדֵּר; עֲלֶה [KAR עֲלִי; הָאֲדָה [KAR הֵדָּא CAI דָּאָךְ; אַעְזָאב [KAR אַעְדָּאב CAI אַעְזָאב
13א 4 וְתַעֲלֵם יֵאִיִּהּוּ אַסְכֶּץ [CAI KAR לִיתָא; אִין [CAI KAR לֹאן
13א 5 גֶּהֱנָאם [CAI KAR גֶּהֱנָם; וּמִלִּין [KAR מִלָּאן CAI מִלִּיָּאן; חֵיִיִּאת [KAR חֵיִיִּאת
13א 6 וְעַקְרַב [KAR וְעַקְרַב CAI עַקְרַב; וּמִין כּוֹתֵר זָנוּבִי וְאַפְעָאֲלִי [CAI KAR לִיתָא
13א 7 כֹּאנֹו [CAI KAR וְכֹאנֹו; פִּי [CAI KAR פִּי; הָאֲדָה אֲתֵאֲבֹת [CAI KAR לִיתָא
13א 8 אֲנָה [KAR אֲנָה CAI לִיתָא; וִיִּיָּה [CAI KAR לִיתָא; אֲסִיִּיטִין [CAI KAR וְאַשִּׁיטָאן; אֲלֵדִי [KAR אֲדִי CAI
אֲדִי; כֹּאנֹו [CAI KAR כֹּאן
13א 9 מִתּוֹכְלִין [CAI KAR מוֹוֹכֵל; עֲלִיָּיָה [CAI KAR עֲלִיָּא; פִּידָאָר [CAI KAR פִּי דָאָר; אֶל דּוֹנִיָּיָה [KAR
אֲדִנִּיָּה CAI אֲדִנִּיָּיָה
13א 10 וִיגּוֹנִי [KAR וִיִּגְלוּנִי CAI וִיגּוֹנִי; וּגִירוּ [CAI KAR וְגִירוּ; תִּמִּית [CAI KAR וְתִמִּית; פִּיִּהָאֲדָה [KAR פִּי
דִלֶךְ CAI פִּי דָאָךְ
13א 11 אַרְבַּעַה וְעֶשְׂרִין [KAR אַרְבַּעַה וְעֶשְׂרִין CAI מוֹדֵת 24; שָׁנָה [CAI KAR סָנָה

[...] man, every time when He burns your skin, He repeats this a thousand times, may He be Glorified and Exalted in His kingdom, to be held and punished for ever. And know this, O man, in the valley of Jahannam there is a big coffin filled with snakes and scorpions. And for the amount of my sins, they made me lie in that coffin, me together with the devils, assigned for me on Earth. They made me go astray and worse, and I stayed in this punishment for twenty four years. [...]

12	ובעד זאך פכיני ארה ס"ו מין האדה
13	אעדאב באזן ארה ס"ו אלדי פכיני
14	חתה לאני אגובך עלה גמיע מה
15	תסא מני ותותרוב מני כמה מה
ש"ד	כונת

13ב

1	כונת פיהא אדוניה ופיהא סרטנתי
2	וסעדתי ואלעסכאר אלדי כאנו
3	חואלייה וימשו קודמ'ו? ואכרתי בקית
4	מרמייה עלה וגה אארץ ולם ינפע
5	אאנסאן פי אאכרה אה פעאילאת
6	אכיראת ואחסאנת ואסדקאת מעה

13א 12 זאך [KAR דלך CAI דאך; פכיני ארה ס"ו] KAR אנפכית CAI אנפכית; מין האדה [CAI KAR מן
 13א 13 אעדאב] CAI אעדאב; באזן ארה ס"ו [KAR פסבחהן את"ע CAI סובחאן אלה תועאה יתבארך אסמו; אלדי]
 KAR אדי CAI אדי; פכיני [KAR פכיני מן דלך אעדאב CAI פכאני מן דאך אעדאב
 14א 14 חתה] KAR לחתי CAI לחתה; לאני [KAR איני CAI אן; אגובך] KAR אגאובך CAI אגאובך; עלה
 KAR עלי; מה [CAI KAR מא
 15א 15 תסא] KAR סאתני CAI סאלתני; מני ותותרוב מני [CAI KAR ליתא; כמה] CAI KAR כמא; מה [KAR
 CAI ליתא
 13ב 1 פיהא] KAR פי הא CAI סאבק פי האל; אדוניה ופיהא [CAI KAR ליתא; סרטנתי] KAR צלטנתי CAI
 צלתנתי
 13ב 2 וסעדתי] CAI KAR וסעדתי; ואלעסכאר] KAR ואלעסכאר CAI וא עסאכר; אלדי] KAR אדי CAI אדי;
 כאנו [CAI ליתא
 13ב 3 חואלייה] CAI KAR ליתא; וימשו] KAR ימשו CAI ליתא; קודמ'ו? [KAR קודאמי CAI קודאמי; ואכרתי]
 CAI ליתא
 13ב 4 מרמייה] CAI KAR מרמי; עלה] KAR עלי; ולם] CAI ולא
 13ב 5 פי אאכרה] CAI פא אכרה; אה] CAI KAR אא; פעאילאת] KAR פעאיל CAI פעאיללו
 13ב 6 אכיראת] CAI אטייבה; ואחסאנת] KAR ואחסאנת CAI ליתא; ואסדקאת] KAR ואסדקאת ואצדקאת CAI
 ואצדקאת; מעה] KAR מעא

[...] After that, God, Glorified and Exalted be He, set me free from the torture. By the permission of God, be He Glorified and Exalted, He set me free from punishment so that I may answer what you might ask and request from me. To answer how I have been in the life on Earth, in my reign, in my happiness, about the armies surrounding me, marching in front of me. In the last days of my life I was flung on the face of the ground. Nothing will help Man on the last day except good and loving actions, deeds of giving to [...]

7	אקראמיר וואיתם ואלפוקרה וא
8	מסאכין כמה אנאס והלאך לפניך
9	צדקך כבוד יהוה יאספך נסא
10	מין פצלו ומין אחסנו אין יעיננה
11	עלה וקתנה ועלה טלוע רוחנה
12	מין כסדנה וציקת אקבר וזראמתו
13	ויספק עלינה ברחמתו וישכנה
14	גנעדן אהים חיים מעה אאולייה
15	אצראחין ויעוד ארוחנה לכסדנה
ש"ד	בל

14א

1	בל תאני כמה אנאץ השיבאנו
2	יהוה איכה ונשובה חדאש

13ב 7 אקראמיר [CAI KAR אאראמל; וואיתם] CAI KAR וואייתאם; ואלפוקרה] CAI KAR ואלפוקרא; וא] KAR ואל CAI ליתא

13ב 8 מסאכין] CAI ואלמסאכין; כמה אנאס והלאך לפניך] KAR כמא קא אנץ והלאך לפניך CAI ואלמסאכין ואפעאו אנגיידה היא אתי תסלוד קובאו פי דאר אאכרה כמא קא אנץ והלך לפניך

13ב 9 צדקך] CAI צדקיך; כבוד] CAI אמן כן; יהוה] CAI KAR יהי; יאספך] KAR יאספך! CAI רצון; נסא] KAR נסא CAI כאתבהא נסים ענאני¹⁴⁹

13ב 10 מין פצלו ומין אחסנו אין יעיננה] KAR מן את"ע יעיננא

13ב 11 עלה] KAR עלי; וקתנה] KAR וקת; ועלה] KAR אלקא; טלוע] KAR וטלוע; רוחנה] KAR ארוח

13ב 12 מין כסדנה] KAR ליתא; וזראמתו] KAR וטלמתו

13ב 13 ויספק] KAR וישפק; עלינה] KAR עלינא; וישכנה] KAR ויסכננא

13ב 14 גנעדן אהים] KAR גנאן אנעים; חיים מעה אאולייה] מעה אל אנביא

13ב 15 אצראחין] KAR ואצאחין; ויעוד] KAR ויעאוד; ארוחנה] KAR ארואחנא; לכסדנה] KAR לאגסאדנא

14א 1 בל תאני] KAR כמתל מא כאן פי קדים אזמן; כמה אנאץ השיבאנו] KAR כמא קא אנץ השיבנו

14א 2 יהוה] KAR יהי; איכה] KAR אליך; חדאש] KAR חדש

[...] widows, orphans, poor and the ill-fated, just like the Text reads: *And thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward.*¹⁵⁰ We ask Him from His goodness that He will help us in our last moments of life, in the resurrection from our bodies' souls and the grave's narrowness and darkness. May He have mercy on us, and let us dwell in the Garden of Eden, long live God, together with the righteous forefathers, and reinstate our souls in our bodies again, just like the Text reads: *Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our [...]*

¹⁴⁹ CAI ends here.

¹⁵⁰ Isa. 58.8 (from the King James Bible).

ימאנו כאדם כמלאה	3
ת"ם ו"נ ש"ב ל' ב' ע'	4
כתוב אתה אני	5
ישועה באן	6
יוסף יר"ו	7
אישע	8
יר"ו נח	9
עדן	10
זע	11
ל	12

14 א 3 ימאנו כאדם] KAR כקדם! ימינו; כמלאה] KAR כמלה¹⁵¹

[...] *days as of old*.¹⁵² The End. Honesty, mind and spirit, a family member in his eternal home, it is written to you. I am Yeshua ben Yosef Jerusalemite, Elisha Jerusalemite Noah Eden Za'al.

¹⁵¹ KAR ends here.

¹⁵² Lam. 5.21 (from the King James Bible).

Chapter 5: Linguistic analysis

In this chapter, a selection of the grammar of three (written) Judaeo-Arabic versions of *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*, with special attention to the differences between the Jewish written and spoken varieties on one side, and the standard (predominantly Muslim) varieties on the other side, is presented. In particular, the Judaeo-Arabic non-standard varieties Middle Arabic (MA), Non-Standard Cairene (NStC) and spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic (EgJA) are distinguished from the standard varieties Standard Arabic (StA) and Standard Cairene (StC). Special attention is given to the spoken features found in the manuscripts.

I have singled out a number phenomena pertaining to each variety in cases where that has been possible; some are uniquely characteristic of two or more of the varieties, while other possess exclusive and visible affiliation to only one variety. StA is predominantly used as the model to which StC and the non-standard varieties (NStC and MA) are compared, but in some cases StC is also used for this purpose, in order to point out differences between the standard spoken variety StC on one side, and NStC (and its EgJA variety) on the other side.

5.1 Orthography and phonology

In this section, the purpose is to identify and address different orthographical and phonological features found in the three manuscripts. The cases where they deviate from each other, as well as in the cases where they deviate from the standard written or spoken normative are outlined.

5.1.1 Judaeo Arabic orthography

Before going into the phonology of the three manuscripts, there are some important preliminary considerations that should be taken into account, regarding JA orthography. Other relevant JA orthographic features are presented in chapter 5.1.4.

5.1.1.1 Judaeo Arabic transliteration: Conventional Arabic vs. phonetic spelling

Many texts written in JA, especially earlier texts, are simply mirroring Arabic orthography, transliterated in its Hebrew equivalent, letter by letter, thus adhering to the rules of StA writing conventions. In cases as such, the JA *rasm* (the ‘skeleton’ of the word) orthographically resembles its StA equivalent *rasm* as closely as possible.¹⁵³ On the topic, Khan notes that “in the later Judaeo-Arabic Genizah documents, the language has made a break with this [early] orthographic tradition and in general represents directly, with an essentially Rabbinic Hebrew type of orthography, the way the writers were pronouncing the language” (2006:39), adding that if the writer e.g. pronounced the 3rd person masculine singular suffix in the word he was writing with its vernacular form *-u*, he would represent this by *-w* in the orthography, e.g. מוּתוּ *mawtu* ‘his death’ instead of the StA conventional *-h*, מוּתָה. In the following paragraphs, we will see that the three manuscripts apply a written style close to this Rabbinic Hebrew type of orthography, or to what we may refer to as phonetic spelling.¹⁵⁴ In his paper on early phonetic JA spelling, Hopkins (2004:236) uses the lexeme الضارب to illustrate some of the characteristics associated with JA phonetic spelling: The *lām* of the definite article is not written (as it is not pronounced), and since *ḏ* does not exist in Hebrew script (at least not in the earlier orthographic tradition),¹⁵⁵ it is occasionally represented by other interdental e.g. *d*. The length of vowels are not always marked in Hebrew, i.e. *scriptio plena* and *defectiva* (marked long vowels and unmarked short vowels) are not applied. In fact, employment of *matres lectionis* is somewhat arbitrary throughout,

¹⁵³ In this connection, see e.g. Saadia Gaon’s (882-942 C.E.) JA translation of the Pentateuch (Gen. 37:1): וסכן וסכן يعقوب في بلد سكنى أبيه في بلد كنعان يعقوب في بلد سكنى أبيه في بلد كنعان. Here, the JA version is completely mirroring StA writing conventions.

¹⁵⁴ According to Hary (1992), this is typical of Late Egyptian JA orthography.

¹⁵⁵ In traditional JA (predominantly after Saadia Gaon’s translations), it is marked, like in Arabic, with a Hebrew *šade* with a dot.

thus yielding several possibilities of how to spell الضارب when spelled phonetically: ~ אדרב ~ אדאריב ~ אדריב ~ אדארב.

5.1.1.2 Personal orthographic style (Schreiberschule)

Although being from the same place and period of time, each of the scribes seems to have their own personal, standardized orthographic style (*Schreiberschule*), which is applied in a very consistent manner. Below, one comparison is made to illustrate the point, in this particular case in the scribes' different rendering of *ʿalif maqṣūra bi-ṣūratī l-yāʿ*:¹⁵⁶

KAR	אִי	‘to’;	עֲלִי	‘on’
GAM	אֵה	‘to’;	עֵלָה	‘on’
CAI	אֵה; אֵא	‘to’;	עֵלָה	‘on’

Determining each individual scribe's *Schreiberschule* is important. One of many reasons for this is that it makes decoding of difficult parts of the manuscript easier, allowing us *inter alia* to determine the pronunciation of certain words according to the way they are written. For example, it is very likely that מוֹסִי (KAR 6b, 3) should be pronounced *mūsā* (with an *ā*, not with *ʿimāla*, even though the two other manuscripts probably reads *mōšē* [GAM 9b, 14; CAI 12b, 3]),¹⁵⁷ because the letter *yāʿ* is consistently appearing in the place of *ʿalif maqṣūra* throughout the KAR manuscript.¹⁵⁸ Another, highly interesting example of personal orthographic style is found in GAM, where the scribe's individually standardized style has resulted in the use of *r* in the place of emphatic *l*, (e.g. אֵרָה > אֵלָה ‘God’) which will be discussed in detail below (in chapter 5.2.2.14).

¹⁵⁶ Hary's examples from the *Megillah*, written in Later Egyptian JA orthography also points to a strong notion of *Schreiberschule* pertaining to each individual scribe (1992:97).

¹⁵⁷ A discussion on this follows in chapter 5.4.5.

¹⁵⁸ More on final *yāʿ* denoting StA *ʿalif maqṣūra* in 5.1.4.3.

5.1.2 Consonants

Phonetic realization of NStC (or EgJA) sounds are to a large extent identical to that of StC; there are at least no previous studies on the variety indicating a difference as such.¹⁵⁹ The JA phonemes and their Latin equivalents used in this paper, however, needs to be explained. Since we are dealing with three written manuscripts from the same time and place, the inventory of consonant phonemes is very similar in GAM, KAR and CAI. Therefore, I have used a single set of Latin symbols for all three. The Hebrew alphabet consists of only 22 graphemes, whereas Arabic consists of 28. Therefore, JA makes use of a number of slightly modified Hebrew graphemes, usually supplied with signs (usually one, two or three dots, or a stroke) above or beneath the grapheme (as shown in the table below). It is important to note that even though some graphemes are intended to yield a different phonemic representation, they do not always differ in shape (this typically concerns palatalized and non-palatalized η and γ). In the following analysis, the graphemes have been transcribed into their StA Latin transliteration, according to the standards presented in the following table:

¹⁵⁹ According to Rosenbaum's 20th-century findings. See Rosenbaum 2002a:122

		t ת		k כ		q ק		כּ	א
b ב		d ד							
			j גג						
f פ	t תת	s שס	š שס	x כככ			h ח	h ח	
	d דד	z ז		ğ גגג			c ע		
		ṭ ט							
		ḏ ז							
		ṣ צ							
		ẓ ז							
m מ		n נ							
		l ל							
		r ר							
w ו			y י						

5.1.2.1 tafxīm and tarqīq

One of the most striking features found in the three manuscripts, is what may be referred to as *tafxīm* ‘emphasis, pharyngealization’, more precisely ‘suprasegmental spread of emphasis’.¹⁶⁰ The process of *tarqīq* stands for the opposite of *tafxīm*, namely a ‘de-emphasis, de-pharyngealization’ or a ‘diluting’ of an already emphatic sound. In the case of *tafxīm* or

¹⁶⁰ In the case of *tafxīm*, we see that one common feature, constricted pharynx, may be used to represent all the different sets of the same phenomenon which are found in each language (notably pharyngealization, velarization, lowering and backing [or absence of fronting], glottalization, absence of aspiration, additional rounding of the labials and trilling of *r*), as long as the practical effect on the surface form is the same. See Hobermann 1989.

tarqīq, sounds are partly affected by their environment by emphasis, as a result of an additional articulation of the ‘usual’ sounds, by velarization and pharyngealization. Such juxtaposed sounds are homorganic and share manner of articulation, but are co-articulated by a contraction of the upper pharynx.¹⁶¹ There are a number of different specifications pertaining to each particular language and dialect when describing the phonologic nature and suprasegmental spread of emphasis; the rules governing one Arabic dialect or variety may differ from the rules governing another Arabic dialect or variety.

As shown in Harrell’s (1957:70ff.) findings on emphasis spread in StC, it may spread from a single syllable to the whole word, in both directions.¹⁶² In the manuscripts, we find written examples violating this rule, such as סרטנתי¹⁶³ (GAM 13b, 1) ≈ StA سُلْطَنَتِي ‘my sultanate’. Here, the initial syllable (/sal/) is split between one non-emphatic sound and one emphatic sound. The rules governing this in StC, however, are clear: Emphasis never occur as a single, isolated segment. It has a ‘minimum range’, viz. a feature affecting at least one syllable.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the scribe does not violate the StC ‘minimum range’ rule with consistency, occasionally writing צרטנתי (GAM 4b, 6) and צורטנה (4b, 6), where the emphasis (correctly according to StC phonetic rules) occur throughout the whole syllable.

In the example of סרטנתי above, there are clear indications of a somewhat metathetic process involving the place of an emphatic sound metathesizing with the place of a non-emphatic

¹⁶¹ Bakalla 2009:421f.

¹⁶² Whether there is a spread or not, depends on certain factors, like vowel quality and syllable structure, but these factors only govern the progressive kind. Progressive emphasis spreads from an emphatic syllable to the following syllable if the emphatic syllable is closed and the vowel of the following syllable is open. Regressive emphasis spread is not restricted by vowel quality or syllable structure—it simply spreads from an emphatic syllable to the preceding syllable, albeit only in the same word, cf. Broselow 1976:45f.; Hoberman 1989:73

¹⁶³ For a discussion and examples regarding *r* in the place of *l*, see chapter 5.1.2.14.

¹⁶⁴ Note that a dot beneath the phoneme is used to denote emphasis/pharyngealization.

¹⁶⁵ Harrell 1957:78

sound, i.e. a changes of the emphasis' place (at least in written form). Other examples illustrating this process are אתרע פי (GAM 3a, 9) \approx StC $\text{ittalla}^c \text{ fi}$ or $\text{ittalla}^c \text{ fi}$ 'to look closely at', אתני סרחה או טרחה (GAM 4a, 3-4) \approx StA $\text{انت صالحة أو طالحة}$ 'are you righteous or wicked?'¹⁶⁶, וסוטהא (GAM 11a, 16; 12b, 2) \approx StA وصوتها '(and) her voice'¹⁶⁷, ובותרית (GAM 11b, 4) \approx StA سلطنتي 'my sultanate'. צלחנתי (CAI 17a, 10) \approx StA بطلت 'to become inactive, out of work' and سلطنتي 'my sultanate'. This process is also attested in other JA sources from the same period,¹⁶⁸ but they are admittedly more frequent with one of the scribes than the other two (almost all occurrences are attested in GAM). Whether this reflects actual pronunciation (i.e. a deviation from the principles governing StA *distribution* of emphasis or StC *spread* of emphasis), stylistic preferences, pseudo-corrections or merely type errors is hard to say. Yet, it is important to note once again, that the occurrences of emphasis switch in the GAM and CAI manuscripts are rather random; sometimes the original (StA or StC) place of the emphatic sound is retained, sometimes it is not.

The topics discussed here, namely metathesis of the place of the emphasis, and the violation of the StC 'minimum range' rule, very much points to an indifferent attitude with the scribe towards whether to use emphasis in plene or not. In Khan's (2006:54f.) paper on a 19th century JA commercial letter from Egypt, he notes that "in numerous words[,], an original emphatic ṣ is written with ṣ rather than ṣ̣ [...]. Some words with this type of spelling, however, also exhibit *tafxīm* in another letter, e.g. טוסלכום 'it reaches you' [...], suggesting that the ṣ does not necessarily reflect a loss of emphasis (*tarqīq*) but is simply an

¹⁶⁶ As illustrated in this example (as well as discussed in the preceding paragraph), the place of the emphatic sound may be either maintained or switched; the distribution seems to be arbitrary. Both טרחה and טרחה display emphatic ṣ , but טרחה displays ṣ̣ *mufaxxam* (emphasized), whereas טרחה displays ṣ *muraqqaq* (de-emphasized)

¹⁶⁷ We also find صوت spelled correctly according to StA, in בצות אנאר GAM 8b, 9 \approx StA بصوت النار 'with the fire whip'.

¹⁶⁸ Hary 1992:93; Khan 2006:54f.; Wagner 2010:34

orthographic alternant of צ". This topic in general, and the manuscripts' different reflexes of the sibilants *s* and *ṣ* in particular, is further treated in chapter 5.1.2.9 and 5.1.2.10.

5.1.2.2 *tarqīq*: *t* for *ṭ* for StA *ṭ*

The switch from *t* for *ṭ* are widely attested throughout the GAM manuscript. For example, we find מותלק (GAM 4a, 8) ≈ StA مُطلق 'free, unrestricted', נתעאם (GAM 4b, 11) ≈ StA نطعم 'I/we feed'¹⁶⁹, תנתק (GAM 3a, 16) ≈ StA تنطق 'you (singular feminine) utter, pronounce' and תבאה (GAM *passim*) ≈ StA طبقة 'level'. In line with Wagner's (2010:35) observations on the same feature, it seems to be limited to particular scribes (the switch is not attested at all in KAR, and only once in CAI, albeit here most probably as a result of metathesis of the emphasis' place rather than *tarqīq*).

5.1.2.3 *ṭ* for StA *t*

In GAM, *ṭ* in the place of *t* occurs in the environment of other emphatic phonemes, albeit not very often. Some examples are מסטורין (GAM 11b, 9) ≈ StA مستورين/ون 'hidden, protected (plural)', וסוטהא (GAM 11a, 16; 12b, 2) ≈ StA وصوتها '(and) her voice' and יחטרק (GAM 13a, 1) ≈ StA يحترق 'burn up, be burned', displaying either *tafxīm* or a switch of the emphasis' place, as discussed above.

5.1.2.4 *Reflexes of StA ṭ*

The letter *ṭ* is sometimes replaced by *t* in the CAI manuscript (which does differentiate between ṭ and ת), in line with StC pronunciation. Some examples are ותאני (CAI 13b, 12) ≈ StC *wi-tāni* '(and) second', ותאלת (CAI 13b, 13) ≈ StC *wi-tālit* '(and) third' and וחדתיני (CAI 13b, 8) '(and) speak (fem.) to me', resembling StC *ḥaddit*. With regard to the latter example,

¹⁶⁹ More on the *nif^l* and *nif^{lū}* denoting the 1st person singular and plural respectively of the imperfect, in chapter 5.2.3.1.

Badawī and Hinds (1986:195) points out that the second, alternative StC form (which is not used in any of the manuscripts), *ḥaddis*, is restricted to *‘āmmiyyat al-muṭaqqafīn* ‘Educated Spoken Arabic’.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, no attestations of this StC voiceless interdental fricative *s* as a reflex of *t̪* are attested in the material.¹⁷¹

5.1.2.5 Reflexes of StA *ḍ*

In GAM and CAI, where the scribes distinguish between *d* and *ḍ*,¹⁷² *ḍ* is mostly used to represent the Arabic equivalent *ḍ*, like *זאך אעזאב* (CAI 17a, 3) ‘that punishment’; *זאך* (GAM 8a, 5) ‘that (demonstrative)’. *d* is also used in the place of StA *ḍ* (shift from StA interdental fricatives to stops, like we are familiar with from StC and other Arabic dialects), as in *דכר* (CAI 5a, 8) ≈ StA *ذكر* StC *dakar* ‘male’ and *דראע* (CAI 13a, 5) ≈ StA *ذراع* StC *dirā* ‘arm cubit’.

Somewhat surprising though, in GAM, in almost every occurrence of the relative pronoun *الذي* when spelled with double *lām* (*ʿalif-lām ligature* א + ordinary *lām* ל), *ḍ* is replaced by *d*, *אלדי* (GAM *passim*) (except in GAM 7a, 12), albeit never when written with only one *lām* (only א), like *אדי* (GAM *passim*).

There are a few instances of spelling StA *ḍ* (StC *d*) with *ḍ* as a result of *tafxīm*, attested in *מן אצהב* (GAM 4b, 3) ≈ StA *من الذهب* ‘(made) of gold’ and *ואכזו* (GAM 7a, 13) ≈ StA *وأخذوا* ‘(and) they took’.

z is frequently used to represent *ḍ* (as in StC) in GAM, albeit never in CAI and KAR.

Examples are *זאך* (GAM *passim*) ≈ StA *ذلك* ‘that (dem.)’, *אלזי* (GAM 8b, 10) ≈ StA *الذي* ‘that

¹⁷⁰ Badawī and Hinds 1986:VIIIff.

¹⁷¹ More on the issue of the native speaker’s choice of certain phonemes in StC can be found in Hary 1992:8f.; 259f.

¹⁷² KAR does not distinguish between the two.

(rel. pron.), אַעזאב (GAM 8b, 13) ≈ StA العذاب ‘punishment’ and זנובך (GAM 8b, 13) ≈ StA ذنوبك ‘your sins, misdeeds’.

5.1.2.6 tafxīm: ȡ (or š) for StA d

The letter ȡ (or š) is written in the place of *d* in one incident: חתה ארוץ לך (GAM 3b, 16) ≈ StA حتى أُرِد لك ‘in order to respond to you’. The most plausible explanation for the switch to š is a misspelling of š for ȡ,¹⁷³ in turn representing *d* affected by progressive spread of emphasis from *r* within the closed syllable /rɪdȡ/.

5.1.2.7 d for StA ȡ

There are also attestations of *d* replacing ȡ. Some examples are ודרבני דרבה (GAM 7b, 8) ≈ StA وضربني ضربا ‘and he hit me (with a hit)’ and ודרבוני (GAM 8b, 9). Note, however, that the GAM scribe (although correctly according to StA conventions,) writes וצרבוני (GAM 9a, 1) just a few sentences below, somehow inconsistent with the rest of the manuscript. Although not occurring very frequently, the *d*-reflex of StA ȡ is found in Egyptian JA orthography from the 16th century (and in copies from later time), the reason being that the letter *d* phonetically was the closest Hebrew realization of the respective Arabic phoneme.¹⁷⁴ In connection to this Hary (1992:93) questions whether this particular reflex indicates *tarqīq*, *inter alia* pointing to the works of Bar-Asher (1988:8; 22) on the *d* reflex of ȡ in the Maghrebi *šarḥ*. In contrast, Tirosh-Becker (1990:59) argues that there has been a loss of emphasis.

¹⁷³ ȡ is consistently represented by ȣ elsewhere in GAM.

¹⁷⁴ Hary 1992:93

5.1.2.8 Reflexes of StA *z* (*ḏ*)

Regarding the reflexes of StA *z* attested in the material, some of the examples reveal whether we are dealing with a stop or fricative, whereas others are more difficult to interpret, as will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

The merging in pronunciation of *ḏ* and *z* is an old phenomenon, already attested in JA texts from the end of the first millennium.¹⁷⁵ Although not consistent throughout, there are occasional replacement of *ḏ* for *z* in all three manuscripts, as illustrated in *צֶהָר אַחְמֶר וְצֶהָר אֲבִיזִין* (GAM 6a, 11-12) ≈ StA *ظهر أحمر وظهر أبيض* ‘a red back and a white back’; *צֶהָרֻּהוּ* KAR (*passim*) ‘his back’, *וְצֶלְמָתוֹ* (KAR 3a, 6) ≈ StA *وظلمته* ‘(and) its darkness’, *עֲצִים* (KAR 3a, 8) ≈ StA *عظيم* ‘great’ (but *עֲטִימָה* in KAR 4b, 7 and *נִצְרָה* in KAR 7b, 2) ≈ StA *نظرت* ‘you looked, observed’; *יִנְצֹר* (CAI 8b, 12) ≈ StA *ينظر* ‘he looks, observes’.

We also find instances of (non-emphatic) *d* replacing (emphatic) *z*: *דֶּהָרֻּהוּ* (GAM 6b, 11) ≈ StA *ظهره* ‘his back’ and *נִדְאָרָה* (GAM 11a, 12) ≈ StA *نظرت* ‘you saw’. This may either be interpreted as a result of *tarqīq*, or as Wagner (2010: 31f.) notes: “This may reflect the merging of the dental and alveolar plosives (after *z* had merged with *ḏ* into *ḏ*) or, more likely, the orthographical representation of not only dental plosive *d* and interdental fricative *ḏ*, but also of alveolar plosive and fricative *ḏ* and *z* by the grapheme *ḏ* in certain layers of the vernacular”.

z is occasionally used to represent StA *z* (as widely attested in StC) in GAM, albeit never in CAI and KAR. Examples are *זֶאֱלִמִין* (GAM 11a, 16) ≈ StA *ظالمون* ‘wrongdoers’ and *זֶרְאֲמָתוֹ* (GAM 13b, 12) ≈ *وظلامته* ‘and his injustice, misdeeds’.

¹⁷⁵ See e.g. Blau and Hopkins 1987:13

5.1.2.9 tafxīm: š for StA s

In cases of spelling with š for s, it is likely to presume that the examples below are results of spread of regressive emphasis (*tafxīm*), e.g. in צרטנני (GAM 4b, 6) ≈ StA سلطنة ‘rule, reign’¹⁷⁶, בצוט (CAI 11a, 12) ≈ StA بسوط ‘with a whip’, וצטהא (CAI 14a, 13) ≈ StA وسطها ‘(its) middle, center’, and מצתורין (CAI 14b, 10) ≈ StA مستورين ‘hidden, protected (plural)’.

5.1.2.10 s for StA š

There are also examples of s for š in the GAM manuscript. They are פסיח (GAM 3b, 9; 4a, 8) ≈ StA فصيح ‘fluent, eloquent, articulate’; ומליח אסורה (GAM 4b, 8) ≈ StA ومليح الصورة ‘beautiful, good looking’; וסהאבו (GAM 7a, 9) ≈ StA وأصحابه ‘his friends, companions’; סרהה (GAM 4a, 3) ≈ StA صالحة ‘good’; סרתו (GAM 11b, 8; 11b, 9; 11b, 10) ≈ StC širtu StA صِرتوا ‘you became (plural)’; וגוסנהא (GAM 11b, 15) ≈ StA غصونها ‘its branches’; ועסיזת? (GAM 4b, 15) ≈ StA عصيت ‘I refused’ and סדר CAI (*passim*) ≈ StA صدر ‘chest’. There are no strong indications of reflection of *tarqīq* in these cases, in fact they all seem to include other emphatic consonant phonemes in neighboring positions like *ḥ*, *r*, *ʕ*, *ḡ* and *ṭ*, thus it is likely that the words have not lost their emphatic character.¹⁷⁷ The phenomenon of (non-emphatic) s in the environment of emphatic consonants as such is a puzzling one. Hary (1992:93) does not rule out the possibility of *tarqīq*, but agrees with Tirosh-Becker (1990:60) that the spelling of s for š does not necessarily indicate loss of emphatic quality.¹⁷⁸ In support of this view, we see

¹⁷⁶ However, we find cases of correct spelling of s according to StA, like e.g. סורטאנה (GAM 4a, 11). A discussion on this follows in the next paragraph.

¹⁷⁷ This is in line with Khan’s observations, who notes that “the majority of [the cases of suprasegmental spread] are in words containing r” (2006:54).

¹⁷⁸ Similar to mine, Hary’s examples also include emphatic consonant phonemes (like *ḥ*, *r*, *ʕ*, *ḡ* and *ṭ*) in neighboring positions.

that there is a clear inconsistency regarding *š* in the position of *s* attested in the GAM manuscript, here illustrated by the following variants of the word سلطنة ‘sultanate’:

צרטנתי (4b, 6); צורטנה (4b, 6); סורטאנה (4b, 11); סרטנתי (13b, 1)¹⁷⁹

5.1.2.11 *š* for *StA s*

š for *s* is occasionally attested in GAM: בלשאן פסיה (GAM 4a, 7-8) ≈ *StA* بلسان فصيح ‘in an eloquent/articulate language’ and אשמה (GAM 6a, 9) ≈ *StA* السماء *StC is-sama* ‘the sky, heaven’, which is probably a result of Hebrew and Aramaic orthographic influence. In these particular examples, the switch might also be directly influenced by the Hebrew words לשון ‘language’ and שמיים ‘sky, heaven (written in the plural)’.

5.1.2.12 *s* for *StA š*

In GAM and KAR there is a tendency to replace *s* with *š*, thus אסד מין (GAM 7b, 12) ≈ *StA* أَسَدٌ (KAR 3a, 6) ≈ *StA* wi-huwwa māšī ‘stronger, more intense than’, אסייטין (GAM 11b, 14) ≈ *StA* الشياطين ‘the devils’, וסדתו (KAR 3a, 6) ≈ *StA* وشدته ‘(and) its intensity’ and ודו מאסי (GAM 3a, 6) ≈ *StC* wi-huwwa māšī *StA* وهو ‘(and) he walked, as he was walking’. This phenomenon may be attributed either to the influence of the letters’ Hebrew epigraphic equivalents *šīn* and *šīn* or to the influence of Judaeo-Spanish orthography (Hary 1992:90). However, the same word is attested, written with a *š*, in שדת (KAR 6a, 6). In other words, the practice of replacing *s* with *š* is not consistent. Another example, in GAM, illustrating the same inconsistency is ומה יפעל סי רוצה (GAM 11a, 11) vs. ולה יפעל שי רוצה (GAM 12b, 15) ‘and does not please Him’. According to Hary (1992:260), the use of *šīn* / *šīn* is often due to influence from Hebrew orthography.

¹⁷⁹ Note again that the letter ר here represents an emphatic variant of ל. More on this in chapter 5.1.2.14.

5.1.2.13 Voicing: *z* for StA *š*

Probably due to the consonant cluster *gs*, the *š* is voiced in one of the manuscripts, thus מוגזי (KAR 3a, 12) ≈ StA مُغْشِي StC *ḡašayān* ‘unconscious’.¹⁸⁰ When not appearing in a consonant cluster, we find גשוותהי (KAR 8b, 13) ≈ StA غَشِيْتَه (Old Arabic غَشَوْتَه) or غَشِيَانَه StC *ḡašayānu* ‘his fainting, unconsciousness’, spelled out with the original *š*.

5.1.2.14 tafxīm: *r* in the place of emphatic *l*

There is an orthographic similarity between the two graphemes ר and ל in the GAM manuscript, in fact so similar *prima facie* that one might simply overlook the word *allāh* ‘God’ when written אלה, or *ṭalab* ‘he requested, required, necessitated’ when written טראב, i.e. with *r* instead of *l* (thus representing *l* in an emphatic environment). In this particular manuscript, the only thing separating the two graphemes is a *qoṣo šel yod* (the *yod*’s ‘cap’ or ‘crown’) above the *r*, thus *r* is easily interpreted as *l*. In 9b, 17 and 12a, 17, however, where the catch word is written in the lower left corner of the folio in a different script, this one resembling Aramaic-Hebrew cursive 19th century Algerian,¹⁸¹ it is impossible to misinterpret the grapheme as *l* (a photocopy of the manuscript can be found at the end of this paper). In contrast to the cursive primarily used in GAM, the font used for the catch word makes a clear distinction between *r* and *l*. Consequently, when comparing the catch word with the same word on the following page, the grapheme used in the catch word confirms the notion of an emphatic *l* written as *r* in certain environments—a feature that, as far as I am aware, has never been attested before in written form. In Tirosh-Becker’s (1988:86f.) recordings of Constantinian Rabbis, she has encountered some rare and inconsistent examples of *r* instead

¹⁸⁰ It is surprising though, that original *š* here have switched to *z*, most likely through *s*. If not, the *z* must be an equivalent of postalveolar *ž* (as in the Levant pronunciation of *jīm*), but this does not seem like a plausible explanation.

¹⁸¹ cf. Table of Early Semitic alphabets by M. Lidzbarski, in Gesenius 1910

of *l* in the words *faḍṛək* for פִּזְלֵךְ ‘please’, *fāḍṛək* for פִּאֲזְלֵךְ, *ḍərm* for זֶלֶם in an emphatic environment, however it is not attested in the spelling. The pronunciation with *r* in the place of *l* (among other pronunciation variants including emphatic ones) was also attested in *ḍərwaqt* or *ḍərwaq* for *dəlwaq(t)* ‘now’ by Marçais (1977:254f.)¹⁸² in Algerian Arabic.¹⁸³ Also, referring to StC, and not necessarily its non-Standard varieties, Rosenbaum came over *l* pronounced as *r*, especially in words of foreign origin, e.g. *borovar* ‘pullover’, *orredi* ‘already’, as well as one Jewish informant telling him that some Jews pronounced the word *dolār* ‘dollar’ as *drār*.¹⁸⁴

Some examples from GAM of consistent spelling with *r* for *l* when in emphatic or pharyngealized environment (*mufaxxam*) are אִתְרַע פִּי (GAM 3a, 9) ≈ StC *ʔittallaʕ fi* or *ʔittallaʕ fi* ‘to look closely at’, וְתִתְרַבּ (GAM 13b, 15) ≈ StA *وتطلب* ‘and you ask, request’, אִצְרַחֲיִן (GAM 13b, 15) ≈ StC *is-sālḥin* ‘the worthy, upright (plural)’ and וְתִתְרַבּ (GAM 11b, 4) ≈ StA *بُطِلَتْ* ‘I became inactive, out of work’. There are dozens of examples throughout the manuscript illustrating this extraordinary feature, occurring in a very consistent manner (listed below), although the occurrence of emphatic *l* following preposition *bi-*, בִּאֲרַה (GAM 10a, 13); בִּרַה (11a, 7; 11a, 11) ‘in God’, is puzzling. It should rather have been rendered without emphasis due to the preceding *i* neutralizing the emphatic *l*. Such exceptions to the rule leaves us wondering whether they are in fact exceptions, if we are dealing with type errors, pseudo-correct features (or standardizations of these), or if they render the sounds as they were actually pronounced.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Here, Marçais notes that these pronunciations variants are “prevalent throughout Algeria, [occurring in the] urban, rural [and] Bedouin [variety]” (1977:254).

¹⁸³ Prof. Ofra Tirosh-Becker deserve special thanks for pointing this out for me.

¹⁸⁴ This information is based on personal e-mail correspondence with Prof. Rosenbaum and other scholars in the field of Egyptian JA.

¹⁸⁵ In this connection, Blanc have noted that de-emphatization may occur in NStC (and probably also in StC): StC *w-mṛātu* > NStC/StC *w-mrātu* ‘and his wife’ (1974:218).

Regarding my aforementioned thoughts on the scribe's alleged indifferent attitude towards rendering of *tafxīm* and *tarqīq* and switch of the place of the emphasis, we should look into one conspicuous inconsistency found in the GAM manuscript, namely מתחלב. Here, the curious morphophonology of this word's seemingly non-emphatic realization will be discussed, yet by no means solved—but rather than ignoring this strange inconsistency, I wish to shed some more light on the issue *cum grano salis*. The example of מתחלב (GAM 3b, 15) ≈ StA مَطْلَب 'requesting, requiring, necessitating' is either inconsistently written with *t* instead of *ṭ*, or a result a spread of *tarqīq* (whether it is regressive or progressive is hard to say, as will become clear in the following), possibly due to the lexeme's pattern. If trying to render the StA VIII. stem active participle *mutaṭallib*, the scribe has written the word inconsistently according to his own personal orthographic style. If the scribe were actually rendering the pattern *mutaṭallib* according to his own personal orthographic style, he should have written it with the phoneme *r* (מתחרב) because of the emphatic environment, as discussed above. Interestingly, the verb טראב ([GAM 3a, 12] ≈ StA طَلَب), consisting of the same original root consonants, is attested in the same manuscript written with the phoneme *r*. The only reasonable, yet very questionable explanation for the *tarqīq* in מתחלב is that we are dealing with a pattern resembling a 'high-vowel-*i*' participle pattern like *mihliww* (IX. stem) 'sweetish, sugary', *mistiḏif* (X. stem, mediae infirmae) 'having received permission' and/or *mistiḥill* (X. stem mediae geminate) 'found (to be) ḥalāl'¹⁸⁶, namely *mittilib* (V. stem *mifti'il*). In turn, the environment of high vowel *i*, must have resulted in the spread of *tarqīq*.

When dealing with *tafxīm* and *tarqīq* based on written material, it is essential to determine the degree of consistency pertaining to each single scribe (as discussed in 5.1.1.2).

Regarding the spelling of *r* in the place of emphatic *l* in the GAM manuscript, we find that the degree of consistency is not 100%, but still high. A complete list of the scribe's

¹⁸⁶ The StC participle patterns presented are found in Woidich 2006:85

consistencies and inconsistencies in connection to this is presented below, with reference to folio and line number together with its respective equivalent StA or StC lexeme between brackets:

(i) Consistent use of r for emphatic l

פי (3a, 9) ≈ StC *iṭṭalla^c fī* ‘he looked closely at’

טראב (3a, 12) ≈ StC *ṭalab* ‘he requested, required, necessitated’

ארה (3a, 12; 3b, 7; 3b, 10; 9a, 9; 9b, 17 [in the *šomer daf*]; 10a, 1; 10a, 12; 11a, 13; 12a, 17 [in the *šomer daf*]; 12b, 1; 13a, 13) ≈ StA *الله* ‘God’

ויתרוב (3b, 5) ≈ StC *wi-yaṭlub* ‘(and) he requests, requires, necessitates’

סרחה (4a, 3); סרחא (11a, 14) ≈ StA *صالحة* ‘pious, upright’

אצראחין (13b, 15) ≈ StC *is-sālḥīn* ‘the worthy, upright (plural)’

טרחה (4a, 4) ≈ StA *طالحة* ‘wicked, vicious’

רע <..> (ונטרע) ¹⁸⁷ (4a, 13) ≈ StC *wi-niṭla^c* ‘I rise, appear’

סרטנתי (13b, 1) ≈ StA *سلطنة / سلطنتي* ‘(my) reign, sultanate’

וטרעוני (5b, 1) ≈ StC *wi-ṭal^cūni* ‘(and) they brought me...’

ברטייר (7b, 10) ≈ StA *برطيل* ‘bribe’

לאכרץ (9b, 3) ≈ StC *ʿaxalliṣ* ‘I finish, bring to an end’

ובותרית (11b, 4) ≈ StA *بُطِلْتُ* ‘I became inactive, out of work’

ואחנצר (12a, 1) ≈ StA *حنظل* ‘colocynth’

רטמת (12a, 13) ≈ StA *لطمْتُ* ‘I slap, strike against’

ותותרוב (13a, 15) ≈ StA *وتطلب* ‘(and) you ask, request’

ווראמתו (13b, 12) ≈ *وظلمته* ‘(and) its darkness’

¹⁸⁷ The missing parts of the word are interpreted by means of the critical edition’s apparatus (in chapter 4).

(ii) Possible inconsistencies in the use of l in an emphatic environment

מן פִּצְלֶךְ (3a, 14) ≈ StA من فضلك 'please'

מתחלב (3a, 15) ≈ StA متطلب 'requesting, requiring, necessitating'

מוטלק (3a, 9); מותלק (4a, 8) ≈ StA مطلق 'free, un-restricted'

אה (4a, 10)¹⁸⁸; אלה (10b, 10) ≈ StA الله or إله 'God' or 'a god'

יכלצוני (6a, 3) ≈ StC yxallaṣūni 'they free me (of)'

מתלוקין (11b, 10) ≈ StA مطلقون 'free'

(iii) Possible inconsistencies in the use of r in a non-emphatic environment

בארה (10a, 13); ברה (11a, 7; 11a, 11)¹⁸⁹ ≈ StA بالله 'in/by God'

אקראמיר (13b, 7) ≈ StA الأراامل 'the widows'

These findings may help us further understand the Later Egyptian JA orthographic traditions for reflecting switch of the emphasis' place and spread of *tafxīm* and *tarqīq*. It is a phenomenon that deserves further investigation in the future.

5.1.2.15 l for r

In addition to the latter case, the GAM manuscript contains another interchange among the liquid consonants, namely *l* written in the place of *r*. Examples are לגלין (GAM 6a, 8) ≈ StC *riglēn* 'feet, legs'; ולגליהום (GAM 11b, 5) ≈ StC *riglēhum* 'their feet, legs' as well as one attestation of כותל (GAM 4b, 10)¹⁹⁰ ≈ StA كثر 'load, abundance'. Also, Rosenbaum have encountered *r > l* in *ladār* 'radar', said by a driver speaking StC.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Possibly *ilāh* 'a god', however not in all occurrences.

¹⁸⁹ But בלה (10b, 11).

¹⁹⁰ But כותר (*passim*) elsewhere.

¹⁹¹ This information is based on personal e-mail correspondence with Prof. Rosenbaum and other scholars in the field of Egyptian JA.

5.1.2.16 *n* for StA *l*

One example of *n* replacing *l* is found in the word אַנסלע (GAM 10a, 11) ≈ StA سلسلة ‘chain’.

It is not impossible that we are dealing with a type error here, as the feature is not attested elsewhere throughout the three manuscripts.¹⁹²

5.1.2.17 *De-voicing: k* for StA *j* (StC *g*)

Although StA letter *jīm* has been pronounced with a velar stop *g* in Egypt since at least the 17th century,¹⁹³ it is not always easy to decide whether the scribe is using the one or the other, as the text occasionally exhibits strong StA influence, not to forget the frequent occurrence of pseudo-corrections. However, in GAM, de-voicing *k* for StC *g* is attested in כסדנה (GAM 13b, 12); לכסדנה (GAM 13b, 15) ≈ StA جسدنا ‘(to) our bodies’.

5.1.2.18 *ʔ* for StA *q* and *q* for StA *ʔ*

Not surprisingly, in a version as ‘colloquial’ as GAM, there are many instances of spelling with *ʔ* for *q*, reflecting the switch from *q* to glottal stop *ʔ* in a number of Arabic dialects, especially the sedentary urban varieties like StC.¹⁹⁴ Some of the examples are ואל יא אהי (GAM 3a, 12-13) ≈ StA وقال يا إلهي ‘and he said O, God’, ואעדוני (GAM 7b, 4) ≈ StA وأقعدوني / وقعدوني ‘they made me sit down’,¹⁹⁵ וללציד ואאנץ (GAM 4a, 13) ≈ StA للصيد والقنص ‘for hunting and shooting’ and ואת (GAM 4b, 5) ≈ StA وقت ‘a time’ and אבצוני (GAM 8b, 8) ≈ StA قبضوني ‘they seized me’.

¹⁹² In this connection, Prof. Rosenbaum reminded me that *l* is found pronounced as *n* in StC, e.g. جرنان instead of جرنال ‘newspaper’; إسماعيل instead of إسماعين ‘Ismael’; نما instead of لما ‘when’.

¹⁹³ cf. Hary 1996.

¹⁹⁴ The *ʔ* reflex of StA *q* occur in EgJA even when uttering words of Hebrew origin, as šattaʔ ‘be quiet’ derived from the Hebrew root consonants š-t-q, or ʔadiš ‘(the liturgical prayer) Kaddish’ derived from the Hebrew word kadiš. See Rosenbaum 2002a:123; 2002b:36

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion on the verbal stem switch from IV. to I., see chapter 5.2.3.3v.

Somewhat more surprising, the switch also occur the other way around, probably a result of hyper-correction. The most plausible reason for the switch is that the scribes did not always know when a dialectal glottal stop represented the StA *q* and not an original ². This consistently occurs in the GAM manuscript, as the following examples illustrate: תקוין (GAM 3a, 15) ≈ StA תִּאֲזֵן ‘to allow, permit’, דאלך דלקומור (GAM 12b, 6-7); דאך דלקומור (GAM 10b, 8) ≈ StA יא אמי ‘O, (my) Mother’, יאקומי (GAM 9a, 5) ≈ StA אֵלֵּךְ ‘those things, matters’, קתאדם (GAM 7a, 12; 7a, 14) ≈ StA אֵלֵּךְ ‘came forth, advanced’¹⁹⁶, אקדוייה (GAM 5b, 9) ≈ StA אֵלֵּךְ ‘how did you find, how did you see’, יקמין ברה (GAM 11a, 9; 11a, 11) ≈ StA אֵלֵּךְ ‘believe in God’, אקרץ (GAM 6a, 9) ≈ StA תִּזְעַזַּע ‘she shakes’.¹⁹⁷

5.1.2.19 Double spelling of consonants

Double, spelling of the consonants *yā*² and *wāw* is a frequent feature in all three manuscripts when denoting gemination (*šadda*) and diphthongs, in other words the marking of *w* and *y* as consonants, as well as to distinguish it from a mater lectionis,¹⁹⁸ e.g. אאוולאניין (CAI 11a, 3) ‘the first, former (plural)’,¹⁹⁹ אדונייה (CAI *passim*) ≈ StA الدُّنْيَا ‘Earth’, דלחייאת (GAM 10b, 1; KAR 7a, 1); להאולה אחייאת (CAI 13a, 9) ≈ StA تلك الحَيَّات ‘those snakes’, באליאנה (GAM 12a, 11; CAI 15b, 5) ≈ StA بِالْخِيَانَةِ ‘with betrayal’, יפיקוני (KAR 3a, 13); יפוקוני (CAI 7a, 4) ≈ StA يُفَوِّقُونِي ‘revive, wake me up (plural)’ and ארבעמייה (GAM 5a, 13) ≈ (hypo-correct) StA أربع + StC *meyya* ‘four hundred’. This type of double spelling is a typical Egyptian JA orthographic

¹⁹⁶ Here, the GAM scribe does not seem to be aware that the first syllable is a part of the verbal pattern.

¹⁹⁷ In this last example, I cannot find a good explanation for the final *q*. Possibly, it is due to the same consonant switch as pointed out above, but initially a result of the following *ʿalif waṣla* in *il-ʿarḍ* ‘the Earth’ pronounced as ², which together with the verb, presumably constitutes a fixed expression: כאנת תזעזעק אלארץ (GAM 10b, 4) ≈ StA كانت تزعزع الأرض ‘the Earth would shake’ (the syllables are distributed as follows: /ta.zaˤ.zaˤ.il.ʿarḍ/), thus *tizaˤzaˤ il-ʿarḍ* > *tizaˤzaˤ il-ʿarḍ* > *tizaˤzaˤ il-ʿarḍ*.

¹⁹⁸ Khan 2006:53

¹⁹⁹ See a discussion on the spelling of אאוולאניין in chapter 5.3.3.1.

feature, attested in other sources, *inter alia* from the 16th century,²⁰⁰ and reflects the influence of the Hebrew orthography of the Mishna.²⁰¹

Double spelling of consonants also includes writing the *šadda* (albeit only in CAI, as in ועֲזִית רַבִּי [CAI 12a, 5]) as well as the geminated *lām* in *alladī*, אֵלֵדִי ‘that (relative)’ found in GAM (*passim*), where *lām* ّ comes in addition to the *ʿalif-lām ligature* ٱ. It is also attested *inter alia* in the different ways of spelling ʿillā (GAM 10b, 10) ‘except’, ʿilayya (GAM *passim*) ‘to me’ and *allāh* (KAR *passim*; CAI *passim*) ‘God’. The examples exhibiting the *ʿalif-lām ligature* ٱ followed by *lām* ّ are in line with Wagner’s (2010:38f.) observation on double spelling, which is probably occurring by analogy with the conventional StA spelling of الله.

5.1.3 Vowels

Interestingly, the scribes of all three manuscripts presented in this paper writes both long and short vowels in plene, as well as vocalizing a few words (in GAM and KAR) with diacritics. These diacritics often reflects the dialectal form of the word, whereas the orthography (the *rasm*) reflects the StA form.²⁰² For example, ואתמלָא *wi-tmalle*²⁰³ (KAR 1b, 6) ≈ StA وَأَتَمَلَّى ‘(and) paid close attention’ would have disguised its dialectal (*ʿimāla*) feature had the diacritics not been applied. One especially common feature found in JA texts, and attested widely throughout all three manuscripts, is short vowel *u* written in plene.²⁰⁴ Some examples are מולכהו (GAM *passim*; KAR 1b, 13) ≈ StA مُلْكُهُ ‘His kingdom, kingship’, כונה (GAM *passim*; KAR *passim*; CAI *passim*) ≈ StA كُنْتُ ‘I was’ and קולת (GAM *passim*; KAR *passim*; CAI

²⁰⁰ cf. Hary 1992:91

²⁰¹ cf. Hary 1992:264

²⁰² This is also pointed out in Khan (2006:39).

²⁰³ Occasionally throughout this paper, the JA example is directly followed by a tentative, transcribed reconstruction where I have tried to illustrate the pronunciation according to my own understanding. I take full responsibility for any errors here.

²⁰⁴ The same phenomenon is attested in Hary (1992:248), and is typical of Late Egyptian JA orthography.

passim) ≈ StA قُلْتُ 'I said', כוּתַר (GAM *passim*; KAR *passim*; CAI *passim*) ≈ StA كُتِر 'abundance, load' as well as many others presented below. This is a widely attested feature in the 16th-century Cairene sources (which were copied as late as the 19th century), found in the data of Hary (1992:90). Although not as numerous as the short *u* in plene, cases of short *i* and short *a* in plene are also attested in the three manuscripts.²⁰⁵

Sometimes, the plene vowels are written not necessary in order to help the reader to avoid misunderstandings, but simply in order to indicate their pronunciation, curiously enough when there is no ambiguity. Likewise, the scribes sometimes leaves out vowels that would have been written in plene according to StA writing conventions.²⁰⁶ An example illustrating this seemingly indifferent attitude towards rules governing the use of *matres lectionis*, is where the CAI scribe writes ועקבוני 'they came after me' in the catch word of folio 9b, but writes ועאקבוני when continuing on 10a, clearly not concerned with whether to use plene or defective *a* (i.e. marked long *a*, 'alif, or unmarked short *a*, fatha). Other examples illustrating this point are found in CAI (6a, 14; 6b, 2), where the scribe writes פִקֵא in the catch word (the last line) of folio 6a, but פִי קֵא when continuing on the next folio, and in GAM, כנת (4b, 13) vs. כונת (GAM *passim*) ≈ StA كُنْتُ 'I was'. It is worth mentioning that כנת is written at the very end of the line, probably leading the author to shorten the word. Nevertheless, this again supports the notion of a somewhat indifferent attitude towards StA conventions regarding *matres lectionis*. As a consequence of studying written material where *scriptio plena* and *defective* are not applied correctly according to StA rules, one must naturally undermine the role and importance of vowel *quantity* (length of articulation). On the contrary, this calls for special attention to the vowel *quality*, because it may reveal the number of syllables in a

²⁰⁵ This is also a feature occurring in Hary (1992:91; 248f.), but is not as common as the plene short *u*.

²⁰⁶ This is pointed out in Khan 2006:52

word, as well as occurrences of vowel switch, epenthetic vowels and *ʾimāla*. These topics will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

5.1.3.1 Reflexes of StA i

(i) **Switch from i to u.** We find attestations of a switch from StA *i* to *u* in all three manuscripts, a feature also attested in Rosenbaum (2002a), illustrating the preference of *u* over StC *i* in the EgJA variety. Wagner's 18th/19th century sources (2010:57f.) verify the findings of Rosenbaum. For example, we have עושרין (KAR 9a, 10) ≈ StA عشرون (genitive/accusative عشرين) StC *ʿiṣrīn* 'twenty', pronounced *ʿuṣrīn*, from the phrase ארבעה ועשרין 'twenty four'. The switch is either due to the initial *w*-, assimilating *i* in the following syllable, or simply an attestation of a permanent switch in the NStC or EgJA variety. Other examples, apparently unique to NStC or even its EgJA variety (as they have no StC equivalent), is דוראע (GAM 10a, 11) ≈ StA ذراع StC *dirāʿ* 'cubits' and ובותרית (GAM 11b, 4) ≈ StA بطلت StC *biṭilit* 'she/they became inactive, out of work'. The latter is not attested in Badawī and Hinds' (1986) Egyptian Arabic dictionary, albeit in Spitta (1880:48). The verb pattern *fuʿul* is also attested in Hary's (1992:280ff.) 19th-century copies of the *Megillah*, as well as in Rosenbaum's (2002a:127ff.) sources from the 20th century, representing a shibboleth of EgJA, due to its gradual replacement elsewhere in Cairo by today's StC pattern *fiʿil*.

5.1.3.2 Reflexes of StA a

(i) **Switch from a to u.** In NStC and its EgJA variety the number 400 is pronounced as *ʾurbuʿmeyya* instead of StC *rubʿumeyya*.²⁰⁷ One example of this (at least the initial syllable, which is written in *plene*) is אורבע מאית אף *ʾurbuʿmīt ʾalf* (CAI 5b, 2) ≈ StC *rubʿumīt ʾalf* 'four

²⁰⁷ Rosenbaum 2002a:126; 2002b:38

hundred thousand'. Further occurrences of switch from StA *a* to *u* are ללנוסארה (GAM 11a, 4) \approx StA نَصَارَى StC *naṣāra* (*nuṣrāni* or *naṣrāni*²⁰⁸ in the singular) 'Christian (plural)', אונפוסהדום (CAI 12b, 5) \approx StA أَنْفُسُهُمْ StC *nufūshum* 'themselves, their souls' and אומות (CAI 8b, 9) \approx StC 'amwāt 'the dead (plural)'. Other attestations of the switch, but most probably due to *tafxīm* (this is also discussed in 5.1.3.4), are written תועאָה (CAI *passim*) \approx StA تَعَالَى StC *ta'āla* '(God, praised and) exalted is He' and טועאָם (CAI 14b, 11) \approx StC *ṭa'ām* 'food'.²⁰⁹ Also, גשוותהי (KAR 8b, 13); גשוותי (KAR 8b, 15); גשוותו (CAI 16a, 11; 16a, 13), \approx StA غَشِيَتْهُ (Old Arabic غَشَوْتَهُ) or غَشِيَانَهُ StC *ḡaṣayānu* 'his fainting, unconsciousness', is spelled with *u* in first syllable in the corresponding part of the GAM manuscript: גושתו (GAM 12b, 9; 12b 11). It is, however, hard to determine its correct pronunciation.

(ii) **Switch from *a* to *i*.** We find examples of the switch from StA *wa* to StC *wi*, in ולון (GAM 6a, 12) \approx StA وَلَوْنَ شَعْرَهُ '(and) the color of his hair', a feature attested by vocalization, and וימה (GAM *passim*) 'and what' written with *yā' plene*. Other examples of switch from StA *a* to *i*, is אויל *'awwil* (GAM 9b, 12) \approx StA أَوَّل 'first' and אגיעאן (GAM 4b, 11; KAR 2b, 11; CAI 6a, 3) \approx StA الْجَوْعَان StC *ig-ga'ān* 'the hungry'.

In most cases, the *i* reflex of *a* is evidence of 1st and 3rd person epenthetic vowel: In the perfect singular feminine we find attestations of switch from StA *a* to *i*, e.g. פי נתקית אגמגמה (GAM 3b, 8; 4a, 7) \approx StA فَتَنَطَّقْتُ الْجَمْعَةَ 'then the skull spoke', אסתמעית (GAM 4a, 6) \approx (Modern) StC *istama'it* 'she listened', פרגית מין כאמהא (GAM 5a, 3; 6b, 1) \approx StA فرغت من كلامها 'she finished with her words/talking', as attested in many Arabic dialects, among them StC.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ *naṣrāni* is restricted to 'āmmiyyat al-muṭaqqafīn, cf. Badawī and Hinds 1986:866

²⁰⁹ A number of genuine EgJA examples may be found in Rosenbaum 2002a:128f.

²¹⁰ See e.g. Woidich 2006a:75

5.1.3.3 ʿimāla: Reflexes of StA *a*, *ā* and *āʾ*

Very generally speaking, the term *ʿimāla* is used to explain the fronting and raising of Old Arabic *ā* towards *ī*, and *a* towards *i*, when occurring in certain conditionings (and combined with the fronting of the point of articulation of the preceding consonant).²¹¹ The phenomenon is widespread throughout the Arabic speaking world, and its earliest historical attestations date back to Old Arabic.²¹² In most modern dialects *ʿimāla* in medial position is represented by the vowel *ē*, but in some of them *ī*. *ʿimāla* in final position is predominantly short and unstressed, in some dialects *i*, and in others *e*, and in some of them the somewhere between *i* and *e*.²¹³

There are several instances of *ʿimāla* in the three present manuscripts, revealed both by *yāʾ plene* and by vocalization. Much of the distribution of *ʿimāla* is quite similar to that found in other Arabic dialects, i.e. open-mid or open front vowels near front consonants,²¹⁴ as illustrated in the examples below.

The *ʿimāla* reflex of StA *ā* when followed by *i* is attested in the examples of עלה חילי (GAM *passim*; CAI 11a, 12); עלי חילי pronounced *ʿalā hēlī* (KAR 5b, 9) ≈ StA على حالي ‘by myself’, found in all three manuscripts. In other circumstances (i.e. where *i* does not follow StA *ā*, but is only in close proximity), the reflex does not occur,²¹⁵ thus פיהא (GAM 13b, 1); פיהא (CAI 17a, 9); פיהא (KAR 9a, 14) ‘in the situation of...’. This feature is consistent in all three manuscripts. There are different cases of *ʿimāla* throughout the manuscripts that may be considered separately, as presented below.

²¹¹ Levin 2007:311

²¹² Levin 1971:9ff.

²¹³ Levin 1971:387ff.

²¹⁴ See e.g. Blanc 1964:32

²¹⁵ *ʿimāla* reflex of *ā* when preceded by *i* is attested in e.g. Jewish Baghdadi (StA كلاب ‘dogs’ > Jewish Baghdadi *klib*), cf. Blanc 1964:42

(i) **StA ā near i.** *imāla* reflex of *ā* near *i* is attested in עלי חילי / עלה חילי (mentioned above) and ביום אֵימָה *yōm al-ʿiyēma* (GAM 11a, 5) ≈ StA *بיום القيامة* ‘on the Day of Resurrection’.

(ii) **Feminine ending.** *imāla* reflex of feminine ending *tāʾ marbūṭa* is attested in אַנְתָּיִה *untāye* (KAR 2a, 10) ≈ StA *أُنثَاي* ‘feminine’ and רַשְׁוֶה *rašwe* (KAR 5a, 3) ≈ StA *رشوة* ‘bribe’.

(iii) **Verb-final and word-final a and ā.** As a reflex of final *a* and *ā*, *imāla* is attested as follows: *wi-bake buke* (KAR 7a, 8) ≈ StA *وَبَكَ بُكَا* StC *wi-baka buka*; *wi-bake buka* (CAI 13b, 6) ≈ StA *وَبَكَ بُكَا* StC *wi-baka buka* ‘(and) he wept a weep’, *wi-tmalle* (KAR 1b, 6) ≈ StA *وَأَتَمَلَّى* ‘(and) paid close attention’, *itʿadde* (KAR 7a, 6) ≈ StA *أَتَعَدَّ* (VIII. stem *d-^c-w*) ‘claim’,²¹⁶ *wi-ʿaʿwe* (KAR 4b, 11) ≈ StA *وَأَقْوَى* ‘(and) stronger’ and *fe-* (GAM *passim*; CAI *passim*) ≈ StA *fa-* ‘and, so’.²¹⁷

(iv) **Short e in unstressed closed syllables.** In unstressed closed syllables we find occasional reflection of living Egyptian speech, (marked with short vowel *šere*) as in אֶמְנִין *ʿemnīn* (KAR 7b, 14) ≈ StA *أَمْنُون* StC *ʿamnīn* ‘safe (plural)’. Hary (1992:91) also points out this feature.

5.1.3.4 tafxīm: ā / ō reflexes of StA and StC ā

We find occasional *ā* or *ō* reflexes of StA *ā* in the GAM manuscript: אֶקוֹמָה (GAM 4b, 8) ≈ StA *عَارَت عَيُونِي* ‘she penetrated my eyes’. There is also one occurrence of *ā* or *ō* reflexes of StC *ā* (historically *ʾ* [*raʾs* > *rās*]) רֹס (CAI 15a, 2) ≈ StC *rās* ‘head, top’, possibly due to adjacent back or

²¹⁶ For a discussion on the verb *iddaʿā*, see chapter 5.2.3.5v.

²¹⁷ The conjunction particle *fa-* is almost always spelled as a separate word פִּי, indicating the *imāla* pronunciation of the word-final *a*. This is also attested in Egyptian JA 19th-century copies of the *Megillah* (Hary 1992:269).

²¹⁸ *וְגֹרִית עֵינַי* in GAM (5b, 15), without diacritic dot on *jīm*.

emphatic consonants. There is a possible switch from *a* to (emphatic) *a* or *o*, in *וּבֹכִי בֹכָה* (GAM 10b, 11) \approx StA *وَبكى بُكَاءً* StC *wi-baka buka* ‘(and) he wept a weep’.

5.1.3.5 Epenthetic vowel between StA consonant clusters

There are a few examples of epenthetic vowel *a* written in plene between consonant clusters. In the example of *וּפִי וְקָאֵת מָה* (GAM 10b, 7) ‘in the time that, when’, the anaptyxis occurs in a StA final cluster, and is a common feature of many Arabic dialects. The feature seems to resemble epenthetic vowels in a so-called *a*-coloring environment, i.e. if the vowel preceding the cluster is *a* and the first of the two final consonants is *h*, ², *g* or *h* the epenthetic vowel is *a*²¹⁹ (provided that the first of the two final consonants is pronounced with a ²-reflex of *q*).

Epenthetic vowel *i* is attested in StA *بُقْعَة* ‘stain, spot’, written *בּוּקִיעַת* (GAM 11a, 14).

5.1.3.6 Reflexes of StA *ay*

The *ī* and *ē* reflex (monophthongisation) of the StA diphthong *ay* is a type that is familiar from various Arabic dialects due to historical changes. The switch *ay* > *ē* is attested in the NStC interrogative particle *ʔēš*²²⁰ ‘what’ [GAM 6b, 2]; [KAR 4a, 6] *וְאִישׁ מַעֲנִי* ‘what is the meaning [of]’) and possibly in *kēf* or *kīf* ‘how’ [GAM 10b, 14; KAR 7a, 9; CAI 13b, 8] ‘how did you find, how did you see’). A somewhat more surprising reflex of StA *ay* is the StA word *شَيْخ* ‘elder, venerable gentleman’, spelled *סֵאךְ* (GAM 10a, 7); *אַסֵאךְ* (GAM 10a, 10), either with *a* or *ā*.²²¹

²¹⁹ Similar to the feature attested in e.g. Muslim Baghdadi, cf. Blanc 1964:55

²²⁰ The earlier chronological development of *ʔēš*, as well as the matter of interrogative particles and a discussion on their role in the NStC (and absence in the StC) variety will re-appear in the part dealing with interrogatives (chapter 5.2.1.5i).

²²¹ The word is spelled *שֵׁיךְ* in the two other manuscripts (KAR 6b, 9; 6b, 12; CAI 12b, 12; 13a, 3).

5.1.3.7 Possible switch from *i* to *e* / *ə*

StA and StC *sayyid* or StC *sīd* ‘Master’, is written סייאד משה עא”ס (GAM 9b, 14) ‘belongs to Master Moses, peace be upon him’.²²² The word might also reflect StC *siādīt* ‘sir, madam’ written without StA *tā’ marbūṭa*, but this is highly unlikely. It is more plausible that we are dealing with a switch from *i* to *e* or *ə* (most probably in lack of a better phonemic alternative), thus *sayyed* / *sayyəd*. It is possible that we find the same reflex of *i* in באן יוסף *ben yūsuf* (GAM 14a, 6-7) ≈ StA ابن يوسف ‘ben Yosef, son of Yosef’, written with ^ʾ*alif*.

5.1.4 Other orthographic peculiarities

Because the limited span of this paper, only a selection of orthographical peculiarities appearing in the manuscripts are presented,²²³ more precisely, in order to prove a point in cases where the manuscripts’ spelling, pronunciation or semantic meaning needs to be clarified to avoid misunderstandings.

5.1.4.1 ^ʾ*alif-lām* ligature ڤ for StA *lām-ʾalif* ligature ڤ

The use of ^ʾ*alif-lām* ligature ڤ is frequent throughout all three texts,²²⁴ denoting definite article and other instances where *lām* follows directly after ^ʾ*alif* or *hamza*, as in אגמגמה (GAM *passim*; KAR *passim*; CAI *passim*) ≈ StA الجمجمة ‘the skull’ and אסא (GAM 3a, 14; KAR 1b, 8; CAI 4a, 13) ≈ StA اسأل ‘ask (imperative)’. However, there are also some attestations in GAM of the grapheme representing Arabic *lām-ʾalif* ligature ڤ. Examples are כאמה (GAM 5a, 10) ≈ StA كلامه ‘his words’, אכאליב (GAM 7a, 10; 7a, 16) ≈ StA الكلايب ‘the hooks’ and possibly מאיכה (GAM 8a, 4) ≈ StA ملائكة ‘angels’.

²²² This is spelled לסיידנא in KAR (6b, 3) and לסיידנא in CAI (12b, 3) ‘belongs to our Master...’

²²³ Suffice to say that the orthographic features that are not included below follow the lines of Late (19th-century) Egyptian JA orthography *grosso modo*, as discussed in chapter 2.5.2.

²²⁴ The use of the ligature ڤ over אל is frequent, albeit not consistent in any of the three texts.

5.1.4.2 Assimilation

The most common feature of assimilation, both in StA and the Arabic dialects, namely assimilation of *lām* of the definite article and the following so-called *sun letters*, is hardly attested in the manuscripts. The same orthographic tendency is found in other Late Egyptian JA sources.²²⁵ Only once, in ארחמה (GAM 8b, 7) ≈ StA *ar-rahma* ‘the mercy’ do we find the feature (as opposed to ארחמה [KAR 5b, 8; CAI 11a, 10] where the definite article is written). Wagner, who have noticed the same surprising lack of assimilation in 18th/19th century Egyptian JA letters, writes: “[This] is very surprising considering that utility prose is often regarded as a lower register of substandard writing. A feature that may have contributed to this adherence to [StA] writing standard is the ligature between *alif* and *lām*, which made writing a plain *alif* just as time consuming as the whole ligature, thus keeping the morphophonemic spelling” (2010:64). Based on my own judgment, the three manuscripts at hand may also be regarded as a lower register of (MA) substandard writing, at the very least GAM, where the colloquialisms, pseudo-corrections and the standardization of these are found in abundance. All three manuscripts include several attestations of isolated definite article *al-* (both א and אל) isolated, e.g. as the last word of a line, or with a space separating the article and the following word (GAM *passim*; KAR *passim*; CAI *passim*),²²⁶ even where there should usually have been assimilation. Examples from the two manuscripts, of unassimilated definite articles as such are בא תוראב (GAM 8a, 1) ≈ StA *wa-radamū* ‘*alayya bi-t-turāb* ‘they covered me with (the) dirt’ and בא נטר (CAI 4a, 11) ≈ StA *bi-n-naẓar* ‘by the look, looking’.

²²⁵ cf. Hary 1992:93; Khan 2006:51; Wagner 2010:64

²²⁶ This is also in line with the findings in Khan (2006:51; 53f.) and Wagner’s (2010:66) 18th/19th-century material.

5.1.4.3 Final *yāʾ* for StA *ʾalif maqṣūra*

In KAR, there is a consistent use of final *yāʾ* representing StA *ʾalif maqṣūra*. Examples are חתי (KAR 6b, 8) ≈ StA حتى ‘until’, אֵ (KAR *passim*) ≈ StA إلى ‘to, towards’, עלי (KAR *passim*) ≈ StA على ‘on, above’, מעני (KAR 4a, 6) ≈ StA معنى ‘meaning, sense’ and מוסי (KAR 6b, 3) ≈ StA موسى ‘Moses’. According to earlier findings, this feature is typically classical, and rarely found in Late Egyptian JA orthography, where the most frequent way to render the StA *ʾalif maqṣūra* was rather by means of *hāʾ* (ה) or *ʾalif* (א).²²⁷ Accordingly, the other two scribes (of GAM and CAI) prefer these letters.

5.1.4.4 Final *ʾalif* for StA *tāʾ marbūṭa*

In CAI, final *ʾalif* for StA *tāʾ marbūṭa* is a frequent feature. Some examples are טבקא (CAI *passim*) ≈ StA طبقة ‘level’ and אדוויא (CAI 7a, 12) ‘medications’. Hary (1992:89) considers this feature to be a possible reflection of the influence of the Babylonian Talmud which used this kind of spelling both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

5.1.4.5 Hypo-correction: Otiose *ʾalif*

The CAI scribe writes the 3rd person plural *ʾalif zāʾida* (otiose *ʾalif*, -وا) according to StA conventions, but uses the NStC variant *gu*²²⁸ for the verb, thus exhibiting hypo-correction: פִּי גוּא (CAI 7a, 2) ≈ StA فجأؤوا StC *fa-gum* ‘then/so they came, arrived’. Based on Hary (1992:91) and Wagner’s (2010:51) findings, marking of this particular *ʾalif* is rare, if not never attested in this period. The fact that the CAI scribe applies the otiose *ʾalif* supports the notion of this particular scribe’s apparent stronger influence of StA in this manuscript than in those of GAM and KAR. The scribes of the latter two manuscripts use the NStC variant *gu*

²²⁷ Hary 1992:91f.

²²⁸ More examples and a discussion on this variant can be found in chapter 5.2.3.3ii.

in the corresponding part of the text, conjugated (correctly) according to the spoken variety, in פיגו (GAM 5a, 16) and פגו (KAR 3a, 11).

5.1.4.6 *tā' marbūṭa in the constructive state*

The *tā' marbūṭa* in the constructive state can be found written as *t* when in the constructive state (only written as *t plene* in StA when directly followed by a suffix) in all three manuscripts (which is typical Late Egyptian JA orthographic feature²²⁹). Examples are פי סנה (KAR 2b, 8) 'for a period of twenty years', אסד מין אף דרבית סף (GAM 7b, 12); אשד מן אף צרבית סף (KAR 5a, 4; CAI 10a, 8-9) 'stronger than one thousand strokes from a sword' and סכרית אמות (GAM 5b, 16) 'the intoxication of death'.

The KAR manuscript displays the following indefinite numeral, סתה'וגה (KAR 4a, 3) 'six faces' where the genitive construction is indicated by two dots between the final *tā' marbūṭa* and the following noun. Here, either Hebrew orthography or early Judaeo-Arabic writing traditions are followed,²³⁰ which means that the construct state is spelled with *t*, or the manuscripts are merely exhibiting the spoken variety. The spelling of *tā' marbūṭa* with two dots on top of it, even in the case of a genitive construction, has almost completely disappeared from Late Egyptian JA orthography.²³¹

5.2 Morphology

The terms *root*, *root consonant*, *pattern* and *stem* will be used in the following.²³² As I have two main purposes for this paper—to identify and describe typical NStC (or EgJA) diverging

²²⁹ cf. Hary 1992:92

²³⁰ See Wagner 2010:39f.

²³¹ Hary 1992:92

²³² Arabic words can be reduced to a *root* (e.g. *f-c-l*), normally consisting of three *root consonants* ($R^1 = \text{ف}$, $R^2 = \text{ع}$ and $R^3 = \text{ل}$), which together with the word's vocalic *pattern* (*fa'ala* vs. *fā'il* vs. *maf'ul* etc.), fulfill the most important semantic and grammatical functions. The term *stem* is used when referring to the different classical verbforms I to X (e.g. II. stem, known as *fa^cala* and IV. stem, known as *'af^cala*).

from the StC variety in 19th-century Cairo, and to identify MA literary standards by comparison to literary StA. Features with little or no comparative importance for this purpose will not be taken into consideration. Whether a certain phenomenon represents a pseudo-correction, a written MA standard, a unique NStC or EgJA form, individual written or spoken preferences, or merely a type error, may often be difficult to assert.

5.2.1 Pronouns

5.2.1.1 Personal pronouns

In addition to StA personal pronouns found throughout, typical StC pronouns are also attested in two of the manuscripts: 1st person plural אַחנָה (GAM 8b, 5); אַחנָה (KAR 5b, 7) ≈ StA نَحْنُ StC *ʔihna* ‘we’ and 2nd person plural אַנְתוּ (KAR 5b, 7; 5b, 14) ≈ StA أَنْتُمْ StC *ʔintu* ‘you’.²³³

In CAI, there is one example of 2nd person singular masculine, written וַאֲנִי מַאֲשִׁי (CAI 12a, 6) ≈ StC *wi-ʔinta māšī* ‘while you were walking’ (from the part of the story where the Earth has just swallowed the dead sultan). Surprisingly, the pronoun is spelled with final, feminine *yāʔ*, and followed by a masculine active participle, מַאֲשִׁי ‘walking’. The corresponding parts of the GAM and KAR manuscript reads וַאֲנִי מַאֲשִׁי (GAM 9b, 1-2); וַאֲנִי מַאֲשִׁי (KAR 6a, 9), i.e. they both display gender agreement (masculine pronoun + masculine participle). It is hard to say if we are dealing with a type error, an occurrence of *ʔimāla*, or due to other dialectal, communal or individual peculiarities here.

5.2.1.2 Affixed pronouns

For the 3rd person masculine affixed pronoun, StC and many other Arabic dialects show *h*-less alternants of StA *-hu*. This feature is attested in two of the manuscripts: רַאסוּ (CAI 8a, 6)

²³³ These are a typical written 19th century JA features, cf. Wagner 2010:70f.

≈ StA رأسه ‘his head’ and ימינו (GAM 6a, 14; 6b, 6; CAI 8a, 11) ≈ StA يمينه ‘his right’. StA affixed pronouns have certain rules for their pronunciation and spelling depending on the environment, e.g. if the vowel *-i*, *-ī* or *-ay* (usually found as an ending of the genitive case), precedes the affixed pronoun, then the 3rd person *-u* changes into *-i* (*hu* > *hi*, *hum* > *him*, *hunna* > *hinna*). The pronouns are rarely affected this way in dialects like StC, as illustrated in CAI: מן כלאמו (CAI 4b, 5) ≈ StA من كلامه, but StC *min kalāmu* ‘from his statement, remark’. Nevertheless, in the corresponding passage of the two other manuscripts, we find מן כלמיהו (GAM 3b, 2); מן כלמיהו (KAR 1b, 12), as well as (in all three manuscripts) ועיניהם (KAR 4b, 1); ועיניהם (CAI 9a, 10) ≈ StA وعينهم ‘(and) their eyes’ and אידיהם (GAM 7a, 3; 7a, 16); אידיהם (KAR 4b, 2) ≈ StA أيديهم ‘their hands’, exhibiting a degree of regularity, as the feature occurs in all three manuscripts. These examples (which are just a few out of dozens of others throughout the manuscripts) presumably display a remarkable hypo-correction, where the genitive state of *kalām* (> *kalāmi-*, due to the preceding preposition) is correctly treated according to StA, however not the 3rd person suffix vowel change.²³⁴ A similar feature is discussed e.g. in Khan (2006:55), albeit in the occurrence of *-hu* after the prepositions *li-* ‘to, for’, *fī* ‘in’ and *ʾin / ʾan* ‘that’, which is not attested in my material.

5.2.1.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In StC and NStC we find the usual demonstratives *da*, *di* and *dōl*.²³⁵ It is possible that *dā/dā* is a typical MA form, reflecting both the vernacular pronoun but also the StA *dā*.²³⁶ None of

²³⁴ I have found only a few attestation of this pronoun written according to the StA rules: מן גשוותי (KAR 8b, 12-13) ≈ StA من غشوته ‘from his unconsciousness’ (also written גשותי [KAR 8b, 15] two sentences below) and possibly אידיהם (CAI 9a, 11) ≈ StA أيديهم ‘their hands’. The retention of *h* in *-hā* is also attested in the manuscripts, likely resembling StA spelling.

²³⁵ cf. Blanc 1974:216. The demonstratives *dih* and *deh* are found in Old StC, e.g. in Willmore 1905:108, but not in later grammars of StC like Woidich 2006a:44

²³⁶ Wagner 2010:76

these are attested in isolated form in any of the three manuscripts.²³⁷ However, in combination with definite article *al-*, we find דלחייאת (GAM 10b, 1; 10b, 2; KAR 7a, 1) ‘those snakes’ and דל עדאב כולו מן כותר דנובך (KAR 5b, 11-12) ‘all of this pain is for the load of your sins’. In contrast with StC, where the demonstrative is usually placed after the noun, this (presumably) literary dialectal style of Egyptian Arabic²³⁸ places the demonstrative before the noun. Also, the demonstrative *dālika di* is attested (in GAM), which is neither a StA form nor does it represent dialectal usage. Rather, it is a typical feature of MA.²³⁹ Examples of this feature, found in GAM, are דאך דלקומור (GAM 10b, 8; 12b 6-7) ≈ StA ذالك الأمور ‘those things, matters’ and זא?ך דלכלם (GAM 4a, 7) ≈ StA ذالك الكلام ‘that statement, saying’.

Occasionally, demonstratives found in the GAM and KAR manuscripts violate Arabic general rules for agreement in gender and number between subject and predicate (or as part of the subject), probably due to hypo-correction. Examples are הדא קצת א גמגמה (GAM 3a, 1-2); הדא (KAR 1a, 1-2) ‘this is The Story of the Skull’ and הדא אדוניא (KAR 5a, 9; 5a, 13) ‘this world’.

5.2.1.4 Relative pronouns

StA has six to seven different relative pronouns, and their form all depend on the preceding noun gender, number, whether it is human or non-human, and sometimes case (which inflects the two dual forms, i.e. nominative *allaḏāni* vs. genitive/accusative *allaḏayni*).

Interestingly, the relative pronouns found in three manuscripts are almost exclusively treated as if succeeding a masculine noun in the singular, i.e. *allaḏi*, even if they do not. In

²³⁷ In isolated cases, the manuscripts all display variants of StA هذه and هذا.

²³⁸ cf. Khan 2006:56

²³⁹ Wagner 2010:10

other words they are fossilized and not inflected for gender or number.²⁴⁰ As far as I can see, different phonological variants of *allaḏī* are the only forms attested,²⁴¹ with only two exceptions: One occurrence of אָתִי (CAI 17b, 3) ≈ StA *التي* (following non-human plural ואָפֿעאָו ‘his acts, deeds’), and one of אָלִי (GAM 10a, 11) ≈ StC *ʿilli*, which is known to replace all other relative pronouns irrespective of the preceding noun gender, number, case etc., as it does in in StC and many other Arabic dialects.

Examples of the typical deviations from StA rules are (when succeeding a masculine noun in the plural) אָנאָס אָדִי כאָנוּ (GAM 9b, 15) ‘for those who converted to Judaism’, אָנאָס אָדִי יתגִּירוּ (KAR 4b, 8-9 ‘the people (who were) around me’, אָנאָס אָדִי יכִפֶּרוּ (CAI 13b, 13-14a, 2) ‘for those who sacrilege ...’, (when succeeding a fem. noun in the singular or a non-human plural) אָנאָס אָדִי וסאָבע תבאה ואלדי הי גהנאָם (GAM 11a, 9-10) ‘and the seventh level, which is Jahannam’, אָנאָס אָדִי גמיע אפֿעאָי אָדִי פעלתהא (KAR 5a, 12) ‘all the deeds (that) I had conducted’ and אָנאָס אָדִי אָלִי (CAI 16a, 9) ‘all the things that...’.

5.2.1.5 Interrogative pronouns

(i) **The particles ʿēš ‘what’ and kēf / kīf ‘how’.** NStC has retained the interrogative particles ʿēš ‘what’, *kēf* or *kīf* ‘how’ (and *lēš* ‘why’), which have fallen out of use in StC.²⁴² We find examples of ʿēš in two of the manuscripts (GAM and KAR) as in ואיש מענה (GAM 6b, 2); ואיש מעני (KAR 4a, 6) ‘what is the meaning (of)’, and *kēf* or *kīf* in all three: כִּיף רָקִיטִי (GAM 10b, 14; KAR 7a, 9; CAI 13b, 8) ‘how did you find, how did you see’. Blau (2002:36) suggests that the post-StA/New Arabic feature ʿayy šayʿ (with time > ʿēš, as found in many

²⁴⁰ cf. Khan 2006:56

²⁴¹ All the attested forms are אָלִי, אָלִי, אָלִי, אָלִי (in GAM), אָדִי (in KAR), אָדִי and אָתִי (in CAI).

²⁴² Cf. Blanc 1974:216; Rosenbaum 2002b:38. The use of ʿēš was common in the 17th century, cf. Davies (1981:278f.)

Arabic dialects today) at one point started superseding StA *mā* as interrogative pronoun because of the heavy functional load of *mā* as a negative particle.

It is difficult to know if *kēf* or *kīf* is reflecting a NStC (or EgJA) feature or merely StA; most plausibly it reflects the latter. Nevertheless, interrogative *ʿēš* placed at the beginning of the phrase instead of at the end (as in StC), is in agreement with Rosenbaum's findings (2002b:38).

(ii) **Interrogative particle *māḏā* + noun.** *māḏā* 'what', which is usually found in StA in sentences introducing a verb, is attested once in the CAI manuscript introducing a noun, in *ומאדָה מענת* (CAI 8b, 2) \approx StA *وما معنى* '(and) what is the meaning of...'²⁴³ probably due to hyper-correction.

5.2.2 The noun

5.2.2.1 Number constructions

The StC diphthong *ayy* / *eyy* in *meyya* (\approx StA *مئة*) 'hundred' is attested in GAM and KAR. When in a construct state (e.g. before a numbered noun), GAM exhibits the StC alternant *מית* (GAM 4a, 14) whereas KAR displays *מאית* (KAR 2b, 2) which is either influenced by the orthography of the StA *rasm* *مائة*, or displaying a NStC variant of the lexeme where the diphthong may have been retained also in the construct state. The following examples exhibit the feature (when in isolated form and when in a construct state, respectively): *כאנו* 'with me' *وكان يركبون معي أربع مئة الف جبار* (GAM 4a, 14-15) \approx StA *with me was four hundred thousand strong men*; *אֶרְבַּע מֵאִית אֶף* (KAR 2b, 2) 'four hundred thousand',

²⁴³ Note also the word *معنى* 'meaning', written hyper-correctly according to words with final *tā'* *marbūṭa* and as if in a construct state.

as opposed to *ארבעמיה וסבעין עמ* (GAM 5a, 13-14) \approx StA *أربع مئة وسبعين عام* ‘four hundred and seventy years’; *ארבע מאי וסבעין* (KAR 3a, 9) ‘four hundred and seventy’.

5.2.3 The verb

In what follows, relevant StA, StC, and to some extent the substandard stems are retained (see table below). Their designations are as follows (StA and StC equivalents are written in parenthesis in some of the designations):²⁴⁴

I. stem	II. stem
<i>ḡasal</i> / <i>yḡsil</i> ‘to wash’	<i>tabbil</i> / <i>yitabbil</i> ‘to season’
<i>šrib</i> / <i>yīšrab</i> ‘to drink’	<i>naḏḏaf</i> / <i>yinaḏḏaf</i> ‘to clean’
<i>xuluṣ</i> / <i>yixlaṣ</i> ‘to be finished’	
t-I. stem (\approx StA VIII)	t-II. stem (\approx StA V)
<i>ʾitḡasal</i> / <i>yitḡsil</i> ‘to be washed’	<i>ʾittabbil</i> / <i>yittabbil</i> ‘to be seasoned’
s-I. stem (\approx StC t-I)	II/X. stem (\approx StC t-II)
<i>ʾisgama^c</i> / <i>yisgimi^c</i> ‘to gather (intr.)’	<i>ʾiṣḥaṭṭiṭ</i> / <i>yisḥaṭṭiṭ</i> ‘to be lowered’
n-I. stem (\approx StA VII)	
<i>ʾinbasat</i> / <i>yinbisit</i> ‘to enjoy oneself’	

5.2.3.1 *nf^cl* *nf^clū*

Western Arabic (North Africa, Malta and medieval Spain and Sicily) display 1st person singular *nf^cl* and plural *nf^clū* as opposed to the Eastern Arabic, that have the 1st person

²⁴⁴ Their designations are very much alike those presented in Woidich’s *Das Kairenisch-Arabische* (2006a:66ff.). I have slightly modified the names of the stems, tentatively added the NStC or EgJA s-I. and s-II. stem, and included his I. stem *xuluṣ* / *yixlaṣ* ‘to be finished’ found in Woidich 2006b.

prefixes *a-* for singular and *n-* for plural. Thus, *nekteb* ‘I (shall) write’ and *nektebū* ‘we (shall) write’ is typical for the Western type paradigm (N-forms), whereas *akteb* and *nekteb* are typically Eastern (A-forms).²⁴⁵ We find examples of 1st person singular *nf^l* (albeit no occurrences of *nf^{lū}*) in all three manuscripts: לאגל מא נגאובך (GAM 3b, 14); לאגל מה נ <..> בך (KAR 2a, 7) ‘in order (for me) to answer you’, כונת למה נגי נר^כב <..> רע ללציד (GAM 4a, 12-13); וכונת למא נרכב ונטלע ללציד (KAR 2a, 15-2b, 1); וכונת למא נרכב ונטלע ללציד (CAI 5a, 13-14) ‘(then) when I went out riding, going for a hunt’, לנתגסיל (KAR 3a, 10) ‘in order (for me) to clean myself’ and כונת נתעאם אגיעאן ונסקי אע^ט <..> א <..> ונסכי אעריאן (GAM 4b, 11-12); כונת אטעם אגיעאן ונסכי אעריאן (CAI 6a, 3-4, exhibiting both the A-form, and the N-form for the singular) ‘I used to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty and clothe the naked’.

Blanc (1974:211) points out a tendency of both *akteb* and *nekteb* for the singular appearing together in the same context. Notwithstanding, one should also consider the fact that although being an exclusive Jewish communal feature within Cairo, the typical A-form and N-form both occur in Lower as well as Upper Egypt, in urban as well as rural areas, in sedentary as well as Bedouin varieties, and in *gāl*-dialects as well as *qāl*-dialects²⁴⁶—hence it is not an exclusive Jewish feature.

(i) The social status of the N-form. In his 1974 article, Blanc points to the fact that the servant girl in Muḥammad ‘Uṭmān Jalāl’s adaptation of Moliere’s *Les Femmes Savantes* (1889/90) is corrected by her mistress when saying *ʿanā mā niʿrafūš* ‘I don’t know it’ (1974:214). This is a useful hint as to the social status of such forms, knowing that all three manuscripts presented in this paper display N-form in the singular. In the case of CAI, we know from the manuscript’s colophon that it was of like vintage as *Les Femmes Savantes*:

²⁴⁵ Blanc 1974:206

²⁴⁶ According to Blanc (1974:211).

مصر تاريخ ١٢ نوفمبر ١٨٨٧ سبع وثمانون افرنجية (3a, 4-5) ‘Egypt, November 17th 1887 eighty-seven, Gregorian calendar’. W. Max Müller, the first one to notice both the geographical distribution and the social status of the N-forms, (Müller 1903:180 apud. Blanc 1974:214) appointed the N-form in 1st person singular to Gurna in the Qina province, but also to Alexandria and peasant women near Cairo. Of a lady he heard using the N-form, he said that she spoke “consistently in the same odd fashion as the Arab ladies”²⁴⁷ (*id.*).

5.2.3.2 *b/m-imperfect*

The *b/m-imperfect* is not attested at all in StA, but widely in a number of Arabic dialects. It is attested in Judaeo-Arabic sources as early as the 12th century, and in Muslim sources in the 15th century. Nonetheless, according to Davies (1981:235) earlier use of the *bi-imperfect* here do not resemble its role e.g. in today’s StC, i.e. expression of habit and of present progressive meaning.

This aspectual prefix is attested once in each of the three manuscripts where it is found in the same, corresponding part of the story, in accordance with modern use i.e. expressing habit present progressive meaning. The fact that it is attested in the same place in all three manuscripts, and only once in each one, suggests that the use of the *bi-imperfect* is not widespread in writing, albeit very consistent (note that the example from CAI displays the *m-imperfect*, most probably due to assimilation): *אנא בנקאסי פיד* (GAM 9b, 1); *לאני אנה בנקאסי פיד* (KAR 6a, 9); *מנקאסי פיד* (CAI 12a, 6) ≈ StA *أُقاسي* ‘(because I) am suffering you, enduring you’.

²⁴⁷ Translated from German.

5.2.3.3 I. stem

(i) **1st person fa^calit.** We find some attestations in GAM and KAI of 1st person conjugations in the perfect tense akin to StC *fa^calit*²⁴⁸ (i.e. StC epenthetic vowel *i*, as opposed to StA فَعَلْتُ), in פועית (GAM 7a, 11) ≈ StC *fazza^cit* ‘I frightened’, וקעית (GAM 7b, 2; 7b, 9; CAI 9b, 12) ≈ StC *waqa^cit* ‘I fell down’ and ובותרית (GAM 11b, 4) ≈ StA بَطِلْتُ StC *biṭilit* ‘she/they became inactive, out of work’.

(ii) **3rd person.** Verbs in the 3rd person feminine sometimes have conjugations akin to StC *fa^calit* (StA فَعَلْتُ), like רגעית רוחי אלייא (GAM 8a, 2) ≈ StC *raga^cit rūḥi ʿilayya* ‘my soul came back to me’, revealing the typical StC epenthetic vowel *i* in plene.

3rd person plural agreement in in number is found preceding the subject, a hyper-correction violating the rules governing StA²⁴⁹ as well as StC²⁵⁰: In the GAM and CAI manuscripts, קאו replaces StA قال in קאו אעולמה (GAM 3a, 4; CAI 4a, 3) ‘the learned said’. Furthermore, the 3rd person plural is occasionally used to denote StA non-human plural in GAM, e.g. ואסנני סככו (GAM 5b, 15) ≈ StC *wi-snāni tšakkaku*, but StA شَكَّتْ أَسْنَانِي ‘and my teeth (was) stinged’.

There are some attestations of NStC and EgJA *gu* or *gu*²⁵¹ instead of StC *gum*, ‘they came’²⁵¹ as in פיגו (GAM 5a, 16; 5b, 3); גו (GAM 7b, 13); פגו (KAR 3a, 11; 3a, 13) לִי גוּא (CAI 7a, 2) ‘(then/so) they came’. However, as Blanc (1974:215) and Rosenbaum (2002b:38) notes, this feature is retained also in other NStC varieties. Relevant to this feature, we have a co-

²⁴⁸ This is another example of plene written *anaptyxis* between StA consonant clusters, as discussed in chapter 5.1.3.5.

²⁴⁹ If the verb precedes the subject, there is always agreement in gender, but not in number between them, viz. *ḡahaba r-rijālu ʿilā hunāk* ‘the men went there’, cf. Schulz 2000:58f.

²⁵⁰ As a general rule in StC, the definite subject precedes the verb, and agrees in gender and number, as *ir-rigāla yištaḡalu* ‘the men work’. See e.g. Willmore 1905:275f.

²⁵¹ According to Rosenbaum (2002a:126; 2002b:38), the Cairene variant *gu* was retained only by Jews after the beginning of the 20th century within Cairo.

occurrence of StC final *-u* and *-um* in the manuscripts, the forms with final *-m* being the socially lower variants.²⁵² One example is וַגְּסוּ (KAR 3b, 2) vs. וַגְּסוּם (GAM 5b, 8) ≈ StA جَسُّوا ‘they examined’.

(iii) Glottal stop as a first radical. In StC conjugation of $R^1 = \epsilon$ verbs, the *hamza* is sometimes omitted in the perfect (e.g. StA أَكَلْتُ > StC *kalt* ‘I ate’). I have not found attestations of this in the manuscripts, but rather correct conjugations according to StA rules (e.g. אָכְרוּ instead of כְּרוּ ‘they took’). Nevertheless, a very interesting effect of the omitted *hamza* is the possible affiliation with some $R^1 = \text{ق}$ verbs—due to the pronunciation of *qāf* as a glottal stop (see chapter 5.1.2.18). In turn, we find one possible attestation of a $R^1 = \text{ق}$ verb (where *qāf* is represented by *hamza*), conjugated as if they were StC $R^1 = \epsilon$ verbs,²⁵³ i.e. first radical yields phonemic zero initially. The example found is וַעֲדוּנִי (GAM 8b, 12)²⁵⁴ ≈ StC *wi-ʿaʿadūnī* ‘(and) they made me sit down’,²⁵⁵ but one should not forget the possibility of a type error, especially as the StC verb ‘cause to sit’ is from II. stem *qa^{cc}ad*,²⁵⁶ a stem in which initial zero never occurs, as far as I am aware.

(iv) Tertiae hamzatae. A common JA feature according to Blau (1999a:74) is the disappearance of *hamza* when not preceding a vowel, as כָּאֵס < כֹּאֵס ‘cup’, leading to the plural אֲכֹאֵס, according to the pattern אֲבֹאֵב ‘door’. Consequently, one may find *tertia* *hamzatae* verbs that have passed into *tertia* *yāʿ* (like in לֹם אֲקֵר ‘I did not read’).

²⁵² See e.g. Woidich 2006a:82

²⁵³ A survey of *primae hamzatae* verbs from 19th century StC is presented in Spitta 1880:219ff.

²⁵⁴ As opposed to וַקְעִדוּנִי (CAI 11a, 14).

²⁵⁵ The fact that the verb (here conjugated akin to verbs of the I. stem) is used in a causative way can be explained by that the choice of verbal themes, in general, is not always in accordance with StA usage. Sometimes I. stem form is used instead of the IV., cf. Blau (1967:§51.2; 2002:38). More on this below (in chapter 5.2.3.3v).

²⁵⁶ cf. Badawī and Hinds 1986:710

Although being a mere StC feature (and characteristic of MA with regard to syntax), one example of this phenomenon is found in the present material: לם יהדו דואבהום עלייה (GAM 7a, 5) \approx StA لم يهدؤوا ‘they did not calm down’ (as opposed to יהדא [KAR 4b, 3]; יהדא [CAI 9a, 12]). Here, StA negation particle *lam*²⁵⁷ is hypo-correctly followed by StC *yihdu* instead of the conventionally correct StA jussive equivalent يهدؤوا.

(v) **I. stem \approx IV stem.** One example found in the manuscripts displaying the dichotomy I. stem vs. IV stem is פלמא פאק מן גשוותו (CAI 16a, 10-11) vs. פילמה אפאק מין גושתו (KAR 12b, 8-9); פלמא אפאק מן גשוותהי (KAR 8b, 12-13) \approx StA عندما أفاق من غشيته but StC *lammā fāʾ min ḡašayānu* ‘when he recovered from his unconsciousness’. Regarding StC, we know that the IV. stem is rarely or never attested.²⁵⁸ Conversely, as mentioned in Blau (1967:§51.2; 2002:38), the choice of verbal stem in JA texts is not always in accordance with standard usage. In cases of StA IV. stem, it is sometimes conjugated according to the I. stem. He notes that the feature is especially frequent in $R^2 = \text{و/ي}$ (which is also the case in the examples above) and $R^2 = R^3$ verbs. Unfortunately, because StA and StC use two different verbal stems (StA أفاق vs. StC *fāʾ*) to denote the same semantic meaning ‘to return to one’s normal state of consciousness’, as do the manuscripts (they display both אפאק and פאק), it is not possible to conclude any further regarding whether we are dealing with a typical written or a typical spoken variant.

5.2.3.4 II. stem

(i) **Mediae infirmae.** In CAI (7a, 4), the II. stem verb יפוקוני \approx StA يُفوقونني ‘revive, wake me up (plural)’ has conjugation akin to II. stem $R^2 = \text{و}$ verbs found in StA and StC. Nevertheless, in the other two manuscripts, the verb is conjugated as $R^2 = \text{ي}$ verbs, although

²⁵⁷ The negation particle *lam* is discussed in chapter 5.3.1.

²⁵⁸ cf. Woidich 2006a:66ff.

the root is *f-w-q*: יפיקוני (GAM 5b, 2); יפייקוני (KAR 3b, 13). I have yet to find this form attested in the StC variety, however it is not unusual for roots with $R^2 = \text{ך}$ to interchange with $R^2 = \text{ץ}$.

5.2.3.5 The passive stems

The fact that there are so few internal passives appearing in the corpus (e.g. along the pattern *fu'ila* / *yuf'alu*), confirms its closeness to the spoken variety. Below, the extant passives are presented:

(ii) **t-I. stem** (\approx **StA VIII**). אתנעיל (GAM 12a, 8); אתנעל (CAI 15b, 3), \approx StC *ʔitniʕil* ‘be shoed, take shoes on (imperative)’ is an example of what may be referred to as the reflexive-passive t-I. stem. Another example of the t-I. stem is אתגמעו (KAI 3b, 1) \approx StC *ʔitgamaʕu* ‘they gathered (intransitive)’, a verb also attested in the s-I. and n-I. stem stem (below).

(ii) **t-II. stem** (\approx **StA V**). אתרע פי (GAM 3a, 9) \approx StC *ittallaʕ fi* ‘to look closely at’ represents V. stem reflecting initial prosthetic *ʔalif*²⁵⁹ or what may be referred to as the transitive t-II. stem²⁶⁰ or the *itfaʕal* form.²⁶¹ Blau (1999a:70) suggests that the reason for this is the shortening of the *a* in the first syllable, which in turn leads to prosthetic *ʔalif* being introduced, as illustrated in אתפעל\אתפאעל > תפעל\תפאעל > תפעל\תפאעל. Another example from the manuscripts is ואתקדמו (CAI 9b, 3) \approx StA *ʔatqadmu* ‘they came forth’.

(iii) **s-I. and II/X. stem** (\approx **StC t-I. and t-II**). The s-I. stem (probably related to the StC reflexive-passive t-I. stem) is attested a once, in אסגמעו (GAM 5b, 6) \approx StC *ʔitgamaʕu* ‘they gathered (intr.)’. The II/X. stem²⁶² (probably related to the StC transitive t-II. stem) is

²⁵⁹ See e.g. Blau 1967:§58, 62; Wagner 2010:83

²⁶⁰ cf. Woidich 2006a:67

²⁶¹ cf. Hary 1992:287

²⁶² Hary (1992:287) considers this stem—which do not exist in StA, but occurs in StC—to be a ‘mixed’ stem, of II. and X.

attested three times, once in each manuscript: יסחטטוני²⁶³ (GAM 10a, 2; 10a 5); יסחטטוני (KAR 6b, 9; CAI 12b, 10); וסחטטוני (KAR 6b, 6; CAI 12b, 7) \approx StC *ʔithattat* ‘they lowered me’.

(iv) *n-I. stem* (\approx *StA VII*). The passive n-I. stem (which is equivalent of the StA VII. stem) is attested once, in אנגמעו (CAI 7a, 8) \approx StC *ʔitgamaʕu* ‘they gathered (intr.)’, revealing a rather StA influence when compared to the manuscript’s corresponding parts: There, we find StC t-I. stem אתגמעו (KAI 3b, 1) and the substandard, possibly EgJA s-I. stem אסגמעו (GAM 5b, 6).

(v) *The verb תועדא: Internal passive or hypo-correct V. stem?* A puzzling conjugation to which I cannot find an explanation, appears in CAI, namely תועדא. I can only guess here, but we are either dealing with either an internal passive تَعِدَ ‘was promised’ (conjugated incorrectly in the feminine) or a hypo-correct V. stem, in תועדא (CAI 13b, 4) *təʕadda* (with emphatic *a* in first syllable, as attested in תועדאה [CAI *passim*] \approx StA تَعَالَى StC *taʕāla* ‘[God, praised and] exalted is He’ and טועדאם [CAI 14b, 11] \approx StC *taʕām* ‘food’, cf. chapter 5.1.3.) incorrectly interpreted as t-I. stem **itdaʕa* > *iddaʕa* (instead of VIII. stem *ʔitdaʕa* > *ʔiddaʕa*), and consequently imitating StA IV. stem تَعْدَى* (in StA, the verb only exists in the VIII. stem, thus StA ادَّعى StC *ʔiddaʕa*) ‘he claimed, asserted’. The same verb occurs correctly according to StC rules in אדעתו (GAM 10b, 9) ‘she claimed it’, but has seemingly undergone metathesis in אתעדא (KAR 7a, 6).

²⁶³ This is an intransitive verb in StC, but is used transitively in GAM.

5.3 Syntax

5.3.1 Negation

5.3.1.1 Negation of past actions and past perfect

(i) **lam + perfect negating a completed action.** StA *lam* + jussive / *ma* + verb in the perfect tense (negating a completed action) is replaced by *lam* + verb in the perfect tense in all three manuscripts, e.g. לֹם כּוֹנֵת (GAM 4a, 9; KAR 2a, 14; CAI 5a, 11) ‘I was not’ and לֹם קִדְרַת אֲנִי אֲדוּס (CAI 15a, 14) ‘I was not able to get in’, probably due to hypo-correction that has undergone standardization. Khan (1991:231f.; 2006:40; 56f.), Hary (1992:294) and Wagner (2010:135) confirms this use of *lam*,²⁶⁴ and its frequent occurrence in Later and Modern Egyptian JA sources. Yet, Khan notes that *lam* as a negating particle is unlikely to correspond to the spoken variety, but that it may have its roots in an earlier period of the development of the variety, possibly an Arabic dialectal literary language that was in general use in Ottoman Egypt.²⁶⁵

(ii) **lam + imperfect + šī negating a completed action.** We also find the use of *lam* + verb in the imperfect tense + *šī* negating a past action, in לֹם יִנְפְעֵי שִׂיא (CAI 7a, 11); לֹם יִנְפְעֵי שִׂי (KAR 3b, 3); לֹם יִנְפְעֵי סִי²⁶⁶ (GAM 5b, 10) ‘it did not work for me’, pointing to some sort of hyper-correction, viz. StA *lam* + StA jussive tense + hypo-correct *šī*. It is very surprising to find *lam* + imperfect + *šī* negating a completed action, especially because the same is attested in all three manuscripts in the same part of the story. These examples strengthen the notion of standardized forms losing their pseudo-correct status, within small

²⁶⁴ They also confirm the frequent use of *lam* in combination with the imperfect tense, negating present actions (see chapter 5.1.3.2).

²⁶⁵ Khan 2006:40

²⁶⁶ לֹם אֲנִפֵּעַ (GAM 5b, 8-9) ‘it (?) didn’t work for me’ (transitive אֲנִפֵּעַ used intransitively, possibly due to hyper-correction) is also attested, corresponding to the same part of the story.

social groups and sometimes significantly larger ones.²⁶⁷ Moreover, Wagner (2010:141) has no attestations of this construction ever used in that way in her study on epistolary writing from the same period.

(iii) *laysa* + perfect negating a completed action. In StA, negated copula *laysa* ‘not to be’ is regarded as being in the present tense, though it is conjugated analogously to the perfect tense.²⁶⁸ The manuscripts GAM and KAR, however, contain another use of the particle, as in *laysa* + verb in the perfect tense, most probably reflecting StA *lam* + jussive / *ma* + verb in the perfect tense for negating a completed action: פליס אדרת (GAM 12a, 6); פליס קדרת (KAR 8a, 12) ≈ StA فلم استطع ‘so I was not able’. Here, *laysa* behaves as if grammaticalized in the 3rd person form, functioning merely as a negation particle.

(iv) *lam* + *kāna* (perfect) + perfect negating past perfect. In StA, negation particle *lam* + *kāna* (jussive) + verb in the imperfect tense is used to negate a completed action in the past which took place prior to another action also in the past (past perfect). Yet, in GAM and KAR, *lam* + *kāna* (perfect) + verb in the perfect tense is used for this purpose, as attested in the following example: יאריִתְךָ יאִקוּמִי לִם כּוֹנֵנִי גִבִּיתִי וְלִם כֵּאֵן אֲבוּיָא אֲכַדֵּךְ (GAM 9a, 5-7) ‘O Mother, I wish you had never given birth to me, and that my father had never taken your hand’; יֵא אֲוִמִי יֵאֲרִית לִם כּוֹנֵנִי וְלִדְתִּי (KAR 6a, 2-3) ‘O Mother, I wish you had never given birth to me’. This hypo-correct feature is characterized by the incorrect use of the StA rules governing *kāna*. In CAI, another negation of past perfect is attested: *lā* + *kāna* (perfect) + verb in the imperfect tense, in לֹא כּוֹנֵנִי תִבְכִּי (CAI 14a, 10) ‘you would not have cried...’.

²⁶⁷ Hary 1992:67

²⁶⁸ Schulz 2000:99

5.3.1.2 Negation of present (and future) actions

(i) **(wa-) lam + imperfect (+ šī / bi-šī) negating present and future.** It is likely that (wa-) lam + verb in the imperfect tense is used to negate present and future actions (StA *lā* + imperfect / *lan* + subjunctive / *sawfa* + *lā* + imperfect²⁶⁹), as attested in וְלֹא יִנְפֹעַ אֲנָסָן פִּי אֲכָרָה (GAM 13b, 4-5; KAR 9b, 1) ‘nothing will help Man on the last day’ (as compared to וְלֹא יִנְפֹעַ אֲנָסָן פִּי אֲכָרָה [CAI 17a, 12-13]). We also find (wa-)lam + verb in the imperfect tense + *bi-šī*, probably used to negate present and future actions as well, like in וְלֹא יִנְפֹעָהוּם אֲנָדָם בְּשִׁי²⁷⁰ (GAM 11b, 6-7; KAR 7b, 12-13) ‘and the regretfulness does not help them one bit’, אֱלֹזִי יוֹעֲצָה עֲלָה רַבְּהוּ וְלֹה יַפְעֵא שִׁי רוּצָה (GAM 12b, 15) ‘the one who disobeys his Lord and does not please Him’.

(ii) ***lā* + imperfect + *šī* negating present and future.** *lā* + verb in the imperfect tense + *šī* is used for negation of actions taking place in present and future (StC *mā* + imperfect + *š*, StA *lā* + imperfect), attested in וְלֹה יַפְעֵא שִׁי (GAM 12b, 15). *lam* + verb in the imperfect tense without *šī* is also used to negate present and future actions: לֹאֲלִי יַעֲצָא אֱלֹה וְלֹם (CAI 10b, 5-6) ‘for the one who disobeys God and does not do...’.

(iii) ***mā* + perfect + *š* / *šī* negating a terminated action.** A well-known feature of StC is the discontinuous negative construction, composed of the preverbal *mā* (found in Arabic dialects, as well as StA), and the postverbal particle –*š*, resembling Old Arabic *šay*.²⁷¹ In all three manuscripts, we find examples of *mā* + *šī* negating present actions, like וְמָה יַפְעֵל (KAR 7b, 1-2); וְמָה יַפְעֵל סִי רוּצָה (GAM 11a, 11) ‘and do not act according to His will’, as well as in the meaning of StA *lam yaʿud* ‘to do something no more or no longer’ (i.e. negating a terminated action), found in מָה בִקָּא פִּיהָ שִׁי מִן אֲטִיבָה (CAI 7b, 6-7); מָה בִקָּא פִּיהָ שִׁי

²⁶⁹ cf. Schulz 2000:97

²⁷⁰ Written אנדם in KAR.

²⁷¹ See e.g. Lucas 2010:165

טייב (KAR 3b, 8-9); מה בקה פיס טאייב (GAM 6a, 2) ‘there is nothing alive left (in him)’. The double stroke adjacent to final *ʿalif* in שיא (CAI 7b, 6) probably denotes an expression of accusative *tanwīn* ending *-an*, representing a StA form of a lexeme not found in StC. Thus, we may say that the three latter examples show, respectively, a development from conventional StA (the example from CAI), a more or less mixed style (the example from KAR), to vernacular (the example from GAM). It is plausible to assume that the examples (here and above), although being from the same period, reflect parts of earlier chronological development of negating present actions, at least in the case of postverbal particle *-š*, as (CAI) *mʾ bqʾ fyh šyʾan* > (KAR) *mʾ bqʾ fyh šy* > (GAM) *mh bqh fysy (fyšy)*.

5.3.1.2 General negation and negated copula

(i) (wa-) lam used in general negation. In the manuscripts, the particle *lam* is also used in general negation, *lam* + indefinite noun in the accusative with *tanwīn* (resembling StA *lā* / StC *wa-lā* + indefinite noun in the accusative [but without *tanwīn*, akin to StC]):
 וּלֹם אַחַד יִשְׁקִיָּהוּם (GAM 11b, 3); וּלֹם אַחַד יִשְׁקִיָּהוּם (CAI 14b, 4) ‘and no one is giving them anything to drink’ and לֹם אַחַד נִזְלַנִי (GAM 4b, 5); לֹם אַחַד נִזְלַנִי (KAR 2b, 7) ‘no one (could) threw (/throw) me down’.

(i) *mā* + *li* + noun as negated copula. *mā* + *li* + noun is attested as negated copula (StA *laysa* ‘not to be’) in all three manuscripts. One example is מֵאֲלֹכִים גִּיר אֲנִי וְמֵאֵשׁ לֹכֶם (GAM 11b, 11-12) <.. > טוע ‘there is nothing for you but the blazing Fire, there is no food for you but fire, and there is no firewood for Hell but you’.

5.3.2 Nominal attribution

The term nominal attribution refers to the adding of an independent complement to a noun which then becomes the head of a nominal phrase. Here, the complement functions as a

semantic modifier to the meaning of the head noun.²⁷² Generally speaking, the genitive constructions (*ʿidāfa*) and the noun-adjective phrase are the most common cases where we encounter nominal attribution. Some nominal phrases found in the manuscripts oppose traditional StA conventions (or resemble such constructions hypo-correctly), or exhibit irregular nominal attribution, as discussed in the following paragraphs.

5.3.2.1 Omitted definite article in attributive adjunct in the construct state

The phrase זאך חין (GAM 8b, 14) ≈ StA ذلك الحين ‘that time’ is an example of definite article omitted in an attributive adjunct in the construct state.²⁷³ Another construction attested, in another manuscript, is גמגמת ואחד מית (CAI 4a, 7) ‘a dead skull’, where the first term may be regarded as definite (because of the *tāʾ marbūṭa* written in plene in the constructive state), but the second term does not agree in definiteness.

5.3.2.2 Indefinite noun + definite qualifier

Adjectives or participles functioning as adjectives that agree in determination with the noun to which it qualifies, are found frequently throughout the manuscripts. Nevertheless, we find equivalent constructions, albeit without the article on the governing noun, reminiscent of annexation for category, also referred to as noun-plus-noun annexation (e.g. in *baytu l-muqaddasi* ‘the holy house’ [= Jerusalem]).²⁷⁴ Hary (1992:31f.) considers such a construction as part of a parallel development in later Semitic languages, referring to its existence *inter alia* in Mishnaic Hebrew (כנסת הגדולה ‘The Big Assembly’), Classical Arabic (جانب الغربي ‘the western side’), Colloquial Palestinian (*ʿēn elbēḏa* ‘the white spring’) and Maltese (*Ghadira s-Safra* ‘the yellow pool’). According to Blanc, “[t]his [construction] has the effect of assimilating the noun-plus-qualifier sequence to a noun-plus-noun annexation or ‘construct

²⁷² Lehmann 1984:43f.; Goldenberg 1995:1f. apud Retsö 2009:3

²⁷³ i.e. 2nd term of a genitive construction.

²⁷⁴ The example taken from Retsö’s (2009:18).

phrase' [...]" (1964:126), and applies to fixed phrases, such as place names and expressions of time. Discussing Semitic nominal attribution in detail, Retsö (2009:18) also addresses the chances of the construction being a juxtaposed adjectival complement to a definite head noun which lacks the article (*baytu l-muqaddasu*), paralleling it to expressions in Biblical Hebrew like *ḥāṣer ḥā-ʿaḥæræt* 'the other court'.²⁷⁵ Conversely, he refers to examples attested in Arabic dialects from *inter alia* Dēr ez-Zōr, Tripoli, Jerusalem, Lebanon together with the Muslim, Christian and Jewish Baghdadi dialects, which do not necessarily apply to fixed phrases.²⁷⁶ The following examples are all definite adjectives or participles following an indefinite noun, yet whether they are fixed phrases or not is not clear.

In all three manuscripts, פלאני (≈ StC *fulāni* or *filāni*, the adjectival equivalent of *fulān*²⁷⁷) is apparently used in an adjective compound seemingly as attributive adjunct, identified above as a definite qualifier following an indefinite noun: יום אל פלאני פעלת כדה וכדה ויום אפלאני פעלת כדה וכדה (GAM 8a, 11-12; KAR 5a, 13-14; CAI 10b, 9-10) 'this (such and such) day you did so-and-so, and that (such and such) day you did so-and-so'. Interestingly, Blanc also notes that it may not be accidental that in the article-less constructions, the qualifiers have that in common that they have contrastive meaning, viz. "the older' as opposed to the younger and 'the big' as opposed to the smaller or lesser, 'the right' as opposed to the left, etc." (1964:127), which may also be found in the example above, viz. 'this such and such day' as opposed to any random day. We also find נאר אמוחרקה (CAI 9b, 13) 'the burning fire', as opposed to (correctly according to StA conventions) אנאר אל מוח'ק'קה (GAM 7b, 2) and מלאכין (KAR 5a, 9-10) 'angels assigned for the Earth', as opposed to the corresponding phrase מאיכה אלדי מתוכלין עלה אדוניה (GAM 8a, 4-5).

²⁷⁵ In 1 Kgs 7.8.

²⁷⁶ Retsö 2009:20ff.

²⁷⁷ Hinds 1986:671

In the latter examples (מאכין אמתוכלין עלי אדוניא; אמתוכלין עלה אדונייה מלאכין and נאר אמוחרקה) there is also a chance of definite article introducing the relative clause. In addition to the variants of StA *alladi*, we might be dealing with attestations of an indefinite noun followed by definite article *al-* serving as a relative pronoun. Whereas in the GAM manuscript, *alladi* is the preferred relative, the corresponding part of the two other manuscripts both exhibit *al-* possibly introducing the relative clause. On this topic, Retsö notes that “the article is prefixed directly to the clausal complement without the deictic element [...], thus a parallel to [*kol ha-hiqdiš šmuʿel* ‘all that Samuel had sanctified’²⁷⁸] in Biblical Hebrew” (2009:18).

5.3.3 Numerals

5.3.3.1 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers found in the three manuscripts are not always in accordance with StA conventions. With regard to syntax, StA ordinal numbers are treated like adjectives, accordingly following the noun, and there is agreement in case, state, gender and number²⁷⁹ (e.g. ואכורסי אתאני [GAM 9b, 13] ‘the second chair’). The ordinals may also precede the noun, as in אויל כורסי (GAM 9b, 12) ‘the first chair’, where the ordinal number is connected with the following noun in the form of a genitive construction.²⁸⁰ Conversely, the same passage in CAI reads כראסי אוואחד (CAI 12a, 14), displaying a rather unusual ordinal number ‘first’, and another example of an indefinite noun followed by a definite qualifier, as illustrated above (in chapter 5.3.2.2).

An interesting equivalent to the StA plural أوائل ‘first (plural)’ is attested in all three manuscripts, as אאולאנין (GAM 8a, 16); אאולאניין (KAR 5b, 3); אאולאניין (CAI 11a, 3), referring

²⁷⁸ 1 Chron. 26.28. Transcription is written as it appears in Retsö 2009:12

²⁷⁹ Schulz 2000:210

²⁸⁰ The ordinal numbers for 1st (أولى or أول) are frequently connected with the following noun in the form of a genitive construction. See Schulz 2000:210

ובעד זאך כארגו אמאיכה and found in the following part of the story: (GAM 8a, 15-8b, 1) 'and after that, the first angels left and the other angels came'. It is plausible to assume that all three manuscripts render the exact same lexeme. אאוולאנין, in CAI (11a, 3) gives the best phonological picture of the plural, as it displays double *wāw* (probably a diphthong) and double *yā'* (possibly *iy* + *i*). I have not succeeded in finding this particular form of the word in connection to the root consonants ²⁻ *w-l*, in StA or in StC.²⁸¹ Nevertheless, אלאוולאני 'the former' is attested in Hary's Late JA sources (1992:319), (a lexeme described as more elevated in its language), thus ³*awlāniyīn* probably represents a sound (external) plural of this pattern.

Another interesting plural pattern is found in the same sentence, namely the StA (relative *in form*) אַחַר '(an)other (plural)', but written אוכרין (in all three manuscripts), possibly pronounced ³*uxarīn*. Again, the most plausible explanation for the form, is that the scribe have applied a plural suffix, and this time to an already plural form: ³*uxar* (broken plural) + *īn* (sound plural).

5.3.4 Other syntactical features

5.3.4.1 The independent particle -an

In StA, the conjunction ³*an* 'that' is employed after modal auxiliary verbs in perfect tense (אנבגי 'should', ארד 'want', استطاع 'to be allowed', أمكن 'to be possible' etc.).²⁸² It introduces a verbal clause which fulfills the syntactic function of an object when being subordinate to a transitive verb.²⁸³ According to Blau the emergence of independent particle *-an* comes from the *tanwīn* accusative ending, and that it was separated from the word, no longer functioning as an indefinite article, but a "morpheme indicating that an indefinite noun is

²⁸¹ I am not ruling out the possibility that it exist in either the StA or StC variety.

²⁸² Schulz 2000:268

²⁸³ Schulz 2000:266

followed by an attribute” (1981:173). Wagner (2010:186) distinguishes between three different categories of the independent particle *-an* in her material. These are *an* + attributive adjective, *an* + attributive noun and *an* + attributive clause. In the present material, *an* + attributive adjective is attested, e.g. in עֲטִימָה אֵן שְׂרוּקָה [CAI 9b, 5-6] ‘I screamed out a great scream’ and וּבֹכִי בֹכָה אֵן עֲזִים (GAM 10b, 11)²⁸⁴ ‘and he wept a great weep’. In two of the manuscripts, *an* + attributive clause is attested:²⁸⁵ *an* is employed after interrogative *mīn* / *man* ‘who’ (and before, *takūni* is used hyper-correctly in this context), as in מִן אֵין תְּכֹנִינִי (GAM 4a, 2); מִן אֵין תְּכֹנִינִי וּמִן אֵין אַנְחִי (KAR 2a, 9) ≈ StA مَنْ تَكُونِينَ / مَنْ أَنْتَ ‘who is it that you (feminine) are?’. Here, *an* (or *in* as attested in KAR) takes the position as the predicate itself or before the predicate, and may possibly affect the following verb in the subjunctive tense (تَكُونِينَ vs. تَكُونِي), yet this may be difficult to detect in this particular context.

5.3.4.2 -a for StA -an

Accusative *-a* is found in the place of StA *-an*, as attested in אֵיזָה²⁸⁶ (GAM *passim*; CAI *passim*) ≈ StA أَيْضاً ‘also, as well’, i.e. spelled without *tanwīn* in two of the three manuscripts, and possibly pronounced *ayḏā* and rather than *aydan*. This is a feature occasionally found in Egyptian 19th century sources, as pointed out in e.g. Wagner (2010:49) and Hary (1992:89).²⁸⁷ Totally omitting of the *tanwīn* is attested in סֵאבֶק (CAI 17a, 9) ≈ StA سَابِقاً ‘earlier’.

²⁸⁴ The same feature is also attested in CAI 13b, 6.

²⁸⁵ *an* followed by an attributive clause is also attested in Khan 2006:51

²⁸⁶ אֵיזָה in KAR (*passim*).

²⁸⁷ Hary (1992:88f.) considers this feature to be in imitation of standard Hebrew orthography.

5.3.4.3 Reduplications

There are several examples of reduplication of grammatical items, as free relative clauses, conjunctions, prepositions, in coordinating conjunction, combinations etc, possibly as a result of hyper-correction. Below, some of them are presented:

(i) Free Relative Clause. Introducing a nominal relative clause, we find *kamā + mā* and *ka + mitl + mā*, as in כמה מה כונת פיהא אדוניה (GAM 8a, 3); כמתל מה כונת פי הדא אדוניה (KAR 5a, 8-9) ‘as if I was in this world’, respectively.

(ii) Conjunction. Conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses (e.g. StA *likay, kay* and *li-*) are found represented by לאגל מא (KAR 3b, 2) ‘in order that’ and reduplicated *li + hattā + ʿan / ʿin*: לחתי איני אגאובך (KAR 9a, 12); לחתא אן אגאובך (CAI 17a, 7) ‘in order (for me) to answer you’.

(iii) Preposition. A combination of the StA prepositions *min* and *ʿalā* occurs, in ואתקטעת גלודי מן עלה לחמי (CAI 15a, 7-8) ‘and my skin was cut from my flesh’.

(iv) Subject. A typical StC feature is attested in אנה וייה (GAM 13a, 8) ≈ StC *anā wayyāh* ‘me and him, together with him’. Nevertheless, the feature is followed by אסייטין ‘Satans (plural)’, repeating the subject: אנה וייה אסייטין.

(v) Coordinating conjunction *fa-* + *fa-lammā* + *fa-* / *fa-lammā* + *fa-*. The conjunction פלמה (GAM *passim*) ‘so when’, functioning as conjunction of time in StA and StC, occurs several times in GAM and occasionally in KAR and CAI, as a conjunction of result or purpose (here, *fa-lammā* is even preceded by *fa-*), in פי פילמה שמע זאך אסכץ דאלך דלקומור פימה (GAM 12b, 6-8)²⁸⁸ ‘when the man heard what the

²⁸⁸ The same function is attested in KAR 8b, 10 and CAI 16a, 8.

≈ StC *guwwa l-ḥammām* ‘inside the bathroom’), there are instances of بين ‘(in) between, among’ with a StA final *tāʾ marbūṭa*, written with a *t* and used in a construct state: בינתהום (GAM 7a, 7); בינאתהום (KAR 4b, 4; CAI 9b, 2) ≈ StA بينهم is one example. Also, we find the combination *mā + bayn*, מאבין (GAM 8b, 6) ‘among, in’.

5.3.4.5 The particle לאדר (StA *qad / laqad*)

qad or *laqad* is a StA particle that precedes the verb. When preceding the perfect tense (لقد فعل), it shows the definite execution of the action in the past.²⁹⁰ In GAM, the particle לאדר (resembling StA لقد) is written in a consistent manner (three times, in 3b, 13; 5a, 11; 12b, 12), all three instances corresponding to the same particle spelled לקד in the other two manuscripts.

5.3.4.6 *fa- + mā + imperative*

Another puzzling feature is the use of *fa- + ma + imperative* or *fa- + active participle* used to denote an imperative, as attested in אֵת אֲגַמְגִּמָּה פִּימַתְעֵלֶם יֵאִיְהוּ אֶסְכֵּץ (GAM *passim*) ‘the skull said: *So know this, O man*’; I have not yet encountered this combination in StA nor StC.

5.4 Lexical features

The major differentiation between the variants (StA, StC, NStC [and its EgJA variety] and MA) are observed primarily in phonology, morphology and syntax, and only partly in the vocabulary. In the following paragraphs I will nonetheless try to characterize some lexical relationships between the variants, by addressing their differences, discussing terms of historical and comparative interest (some are common to two varieties or more, others are peculiar to only one), as well as examining the Hebrew vocabulary found.

²⁹⁰ Schulz 2000:163

5.4.1 Typical colloquial verbs

It is very clear that the manuscripts are under the influence of the spoken variety. All three manuscripts exhibit dialectal and StC *ḥatt* ‘to put’: חטוי (GAM 7b, 14; KAR 5a, 6); וחטוה (CAI 10a, 11). We also find the dialectal, merged form of *jāʿa* + *bi-* (+ *li-*) ≈ ‘to bring’ appearing in all of the manuscripts: גאבולי (GAM 12a, 7); פגאבו לי (KAR 8a, 13; CAI 15a, 14-15b, 2) ≈ StA لي جأؤوا ب (ه) ‘they brought me (something)’. Another merged form is the verb *qāla* and the preposition *li-*: פקלהא (GAM 3b, 5) ≈ StA فقال لها ‘so he said to her’. Another typical verb also found in many Arabic dialects, among them StC, is *ya rēt* ‘I wish’ (*ya rēt* + pronoun suffix). This verb is found in all three manuscripts: יאריתך (GAM 9a, 5); יאריית (KAR 6a, 2); יריתך (CAI 11b, 11) ‘I wish (that you)’.

5.4.2 Unusual / substandard patterns

Some unusual, possibly substandard plural forms according to StA and StC patterns are attested in the manuscripts, e.g. broken plural פעאיל (KAR 9b, 2); פֿעאיליו (CAI 17a, 13) ≈ StA أفعال ‘(his) actions, deeds’ and the same plural, albeit both sound and broken at the same time: פעאילאח (GAM 13b, 5). We also find קואציב (GAM 7a, 4) ≈ StA قضبان StC *ʿudbān* ‘rods, sticks, bars’, as well as the puzzling plural form תובבה (GAM 5b, 7) ≈ StA أطباء StC *ʿaṭibba* ‘doctors’.

In CAI, the adjective נתאיה (CAI 5a, 8) ≈ StC *nitāya* ‘female’, is written akin to the word’s StC equivalent. In GAM and KAR however, a possible StA hybrid between أُنثَاوِي and أُنثَى may be detected, in אנתאיה (GAM 4a, 4) and אנתאיה (KAR 2a, 10) *ʿuntāya* or *ʿuntāye*, a pattern I cannot seem to find attested in StC nor in StA.

5.4.3 The use and reflexes of StA *yā* and *ʿayyuhā*

The word *yā* (CAI 16a, 2; 16b, 8); *yā* (GAM *passim*) *ʿayyahu* or *ʿayyuhu* ≈ StA *yā* or *yā* is attested several times. Only in the CAI manuscript it is attested in its conventional StA form: *yā* (CAI *passim*).

The spelling of *yā* as *yā* connected to the next word²⁹¹ is attested few times, most frequent when followed by a word beginning with *ʿalif*.²⁹² This feature is illustrated in *yā* and *yā* in *yā* and *yā* (GAM 3a, 13) 'And O, my Master (and O,) my Nourisher (and O,) my Hope' and in the aforementioned *yā* (GAM *passim*) 'O'.

5.4.4 Abbreviations

The meaning of some of the abbreviations used in the three manuscripts are clear. For example, *yā* (GAM *passim*) from StA *ʿẓẓ* 'Almighty and Exalted' and *yā* (KAR 5a, 2); *yā* (GAM *passim*; CAI *passim*); *yā* (CAI *passim*) from StA *ṣḥḥ* 'Glorified and Exalted be He'.

In the end of the GAM manuscript, we find a number of abbreviations which I can only guess the meaning behind, occurring right after one another, as shown in the following: The phrase in GAM 14a, 4 (containing the following abbreviations) *yā* I have interpreted, in respective order, as *yā* = Hebrew *ṭmīmōt* 'honesty' (possibly in connection with *ṭmīm* 'God fearing'); *yā* = Hebrew *neḥeš* 'soul, spirit'; *yā* = Hebrew *ḥēšer* 'family member, relative'; *yā* = *yā* 'in(to) his grave, eternal home'. The abbreviation *yā* from the sentence *yā* *yā* *yā* *yā* (GAM 14a, 6-10) seems to stand for the name *yā* 'Yerushalmi' or 'the Jerusalemite'. Hence, the whole sentence possibly translates 'Honesty, mind and spirit, a family member, in his eternal home, it is written to

²⁹¹ As pointed out in Hopkins 1984:§10d.

²⁹² In accordance with Blau 1967:§103; §113; Hopkins 1984:§27d.

you. I am Yeshua ben Yosef Jerusalemite, Elisha Jerusalemite Noah Eden', yet I am very uncertain about this interpretation. Below, more Hebrew content from the manuscripts is discussed.

5.4.5 Hebrew Content

In line with Blanc's findings (1964:141ff.) on the Jewish Baghdadi variant, we may say that everyday use of Hebrew terms are not very numerous; usually the Hebrew terms carries a special stylistic value, and most Hebrew words have Arabic equivalents, at least for the storytelling genre found in the present material. As the Hebrew words and expressions occurring in the manuscripts are only rarely vocalized, it is not always possible to know whether the pronunciation is guided by Masoretic spelling or not. Nonetheless, they are undoubtedly connected with religious and communal aspects of Jewish life.

5.4.5.1 Biblical names and quotes

The Hebrew name מֹשֶׁה Moses (موسى in Arabic) is probably written according to its traditional Hebrew pronunciation (*mōšē*) in two of the three manuscripts. Here, it is written as it is in Hebrew (משה [GAM 9b, 14; CAI 12b, 3]), whereas KAR reads מוסי (KAR 6b, 3). As for the latter, it is very likely that it is spelled according to StA conventions and should be pronounced *mūsā*, because the letter *yā'* can be found in the place of *ʿalif maqṣūra* throughout the KAR manuscript (see chapter 5.1.4.3). The CAI scribe uses the Hebrew name אברהם אבינו (CAI 12b, 2) 'Our Father Abraham', as opposed to the Arabic אַבְרָהִים אֶלְכַּאִיל 'Abraham the friend', found in GAM 9b, 12-13. The KAR scribe uses the direct translation from Hebrew אַבְרָהִים אַבְנוֹא (KAR 6b, 2) 'our Father Abraham'.

The Hebrew phrase והלאך לפניך צדקך כבוד יהוה יאמפך (GAM 13b, 8-9)²⁹³ “And thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward”²⁹⁴ is a quote from the Book of Isaiah. We also find the quote השיבאנו יהוה איכה ונשובה חדאש ימאנו כאדם (GAM 14a, 1-3)²⁹⁵ “Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old”.

5.4.5.2 Nouns

In CAI, the Hebrew word המתים ‘the dead’ is used, in CAI 13b, 13-14a, 2) ‘those who sacrilege in blessing the dead’. העולם ‘the world’ is attested once, in CAI 8b, 9, and the term for ‘hell’, גהינם (KAR *passim*; CAI *passim*) ≈ Biblical Hebrew גֵּיהֶנֶם is found throughout KAR and CAI. In GAM, it is written גהנהם (GAM *passim*), probably resembling Arabic *jahannam*, albeit spelled consistently with *h* in penultimate position, which is unusual.

5.4.5.3 Other Hebrew peculiarities

Praise and blessings are occasionally given in Hebrew, as in אהים חיים (GAM 13b, 14) ‘(long) live God’, as well as in mixed (Hebrew-Arabic) components, possibly neologisms created from Hebrew words or roots: The example ויאתקוטי²⁹⁶ (GAM 3a, 13) ≈ StA *wa-yā* + Hebrew תקוה ‘(and) O, my Hope’ seems to represent a uniquely Jewish blessing.

The Hebrew construction גן + עדן has been merged to one word גנעדן (GAM 13b, 14) ‘Garden of Eden’.

²⁹³ The same phrase is also found in the corresponding parts of CAI and KAR.

²⁹⁴ Isa. 58.8 (from the King James Version).

²⁹⁵ Lam. 5.21 (from the King James Version), resembling the phrase השיבנו יהוה אליך ונשוב [ונשובה] חדש ימינו כקדם

²⁹⁶ ויתקוטי in KAR 1b, 8

The Hebrew verb התגיר 'to convert to Judaism' is not attested in StA nor StC, but is found in all three manuscripts: יתגירו (GAM 9b, 15); יתגייירו (KAR 6b, 4; CAI 12b, 4) 'they convert to Judaism'.

Chapter 6: Summary and concluding remarks

In the previous two chapters, we have examined and outlined typical features of the written and spoken Judaeo-Arabic in Egypt during the 19th century, based on a grammatical study of three contemporary Judaeo-Arabic versions of *Qiṣṣat al-Jumjuma*. The aim for the previous chapter has been to focus on the dichotomy between the substandard varieties Middle Arabic, Non-Standard Cairene and spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic on one side, and the standard (predominantly Muslim) varieties Standard Arabic and Standard Cairene on the other side. Below is a summary of the most important and relevant orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical features highlighting this dichotomy, and in many ways supporting the notion of a distinct spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic variety, although much remains to be studied in this regard:

(i) Orthography and phonology. The scribes tend to have their own personal, standardized orthographic style, especially evident in their rendering of StA *ʿalif maqṣūra bi-ṣūratī l-yāʾ* and other graphemes missing in the Hebrew alphabet. In this connection, it is clear that GAM is the manuscript displaying the most conspicuous personal standardizations, as attested in e.g. the *ʿalif-lām* ligature ڤ written in the place of StA *lām-ʿalif* ligature ڤ, and plene written anaptyxis between StA consonant clusters.

In addition to this, the manuscripts exhibit obvious traces of Late Egyptian JA orthography, characterized by the frequent occurrence of *ʿalif-lām* ligature ڤ, the lack of assimilation of sun-letters, influence of phonetic spelling and very frequent plene spelling of *u*, which every now and then provides insight to possible EgJA variants. In fact, plene spelling of *u* and the preference of *u* over StC *i* (or *a*) are shibboleths of EgJA, and a summary of some lexemes possibly unique to EgJA are presented in the paragraph on lexical features (below).

All three texts include several attestations of *tafxīm* and *tarqīq*. Nevertheless, these are frequently found adjacent to a switch of the emphasis' place, and only occasionally in accordance with the phonetic rules governing emphasis spread (the 'minimum range' rule) in the StC variety. This is more typical for the GAM manuscript than for KAR and CAI. Rather than actually reflecting a separate set of rules governing the spread of *tafxīm* and *tarqīq* unique to NStC or its EgJA variety (i.e. diverging from that of StC), my own and a number of scholars' findings point to an inconsistency of the scribe towards the representation of emphatic versus non-emphatic phonemes, who might simply reflect orthographic alternants of the original phoneme, and not necessarily *tafxīm* or *tarqīq*. Concluding on this issue for the time being, the apparent spread of *tafxīm* and *tarqīq* attested in Later Egyptian JA orthography may be misleading when attempting to reconstruct the phonetic realization of NStC (and its EgJA variety).

This leads us to one of the most interesting features attested in the manuscripts, namely the occurrence of *r* in the place of emphatic *l*. It is difficult to be assertive about the consistency of this kind of spelling, as there are at least ten possible inconsistencies with the use of *l* where there should have been *r*, and a few puzzling spellings of non-emphatic StA بالله 'in/by God' and الأرملة 'the widows' as ברה and אקראמיר respectively. That said, there are more than 30 unquestionable occurrences of this conspicuous consonant switch throughout the GAM manuscript, which may help us further understand the Later Egyptian JA orthographic traditions for reflecting switch of the emphasis' place and apparent spread of *tafxīm* and *tarqīq*. It is a phenomenon that deserves further investigation and analysis.

The GAM manuscript exhibits an unusual switch of *q* written in the place of StA ʔ, most probably as a result of hyper-correction. Some examples of this very frequent phenomenon are *taqzan* 'to allow, permit', *yā qummi* 'O, (my) mother', *qitʾaddim* 'came forth, advanced', *yuqmin birrāh* 'believe in God' *il-qarḏ* 'the Earth', etc.

(ii) **Morphology.** The morphology of the three manuscripts is very much akin to that of StC. They frequently exhibit ‘Low’ variants (i.e. they show a preference towards choosing an informal register), violation of gender agreement in demonstratives, relatives and even (once) in a personal pronoun, as well as the StC relative pronoun *ʔilli* in GAM, the *b/m*-imperfective, the t-I. stem *ʔitfaʿal* and the geminated t-II. stem *ʔitfa^{cc}al* in both GAM and KAR.

We also find typical MA demonstratives found in GAM and KAR (combined with the following noun, written *dil-ḥayyāt* ‘those snakes’ and [hypo-correct] *dālika dil-qumūr* ‘those things’), and the interrogative particle *māḍā* (in CAI) used hyper-correctly.

NStC features are found in all three manuscripts, namely the interrogative particles *ʔēš* ‘what’, wide attestation of the *nf^{cl} nf^{cl}lū* verb form (N-form), as well as the substandard, possibly EgJA s-I. stem *ʔisfaʿal* (in GAM).

(iii) **Syntax.** The StC negation markers *mā + š / šī / bi-šī* are found in abundance throughout the material. Other negation markers found in the material exhibit strong influence of standardized MA pseudo-corrections, as well as a number of other hypo-corrections. For example, *lam + verb* in the perfect tense negating a completed action, which is a frequent feature in Later and Modern Egyptian JA sources, is widely attested in all three manuscripts. It is a typical MA feature, which probably originated as a hypo-correction, later to undergo standardization. In GAM and KAR, *laysa + perfect* is used to negating a completed action, which is probably another hypo-correction, especially because it is not conjugated according to the 1st person singular (*lastu*), as it should have been in this context, but retained in 3rd person singular *laysa*. *mā + li + noun* is attested negating the copula in all three manuscripts.

The cases of nominal attribution attested in the manuscripts occasionally oppose traditional StA conventions for genitive constructions (or they hypo-correctly resemble such

constructions) and noun-adjective phrases. Rules governing definiteness in genitive constructions are violated, e.g. in GAM and CAI by omitting the attributive adjunct definite article in the construct state (*zālik ḥīn* ‘at that time’ and *gumgumat wāhid mayyit* ‘a dead skull’), and in all three manuscripts we find definite qualifiers following indefinite nouns (e.g. *yōm il-fulāni* ‘this such and such day’).

The independent article *-an*, which is attested widely throughout my material (probably a morpheme indicating that an indefinite noun is followed by an attribute), is found e.g. preceding the attributive adjective and the attributive clause.

Another typical Late JA feature is the frequent use and reduplications of the coordinating conjunction *fa-*. In the manuscripts we find phrases including two, and even as much as three *fa*-conjunctions in one phrase. Here, *fa-* + *fa-lammā* + *fa-* / *fa-lammā* + *fa-* is used as a conjunction of result or purpose. In line with earlier scholarly work on the topic, the apodosis is introduced by *fa-* only when the verb in the *lammā* clause is a sensory verb (see, watch, hear, etc.), and is attested in earlier Late and Modern Egyptian JA sources.

There are also some interesting syntactical features found in the GAM manuscript, which I find difficult to explain. These are the particle לאָדער (resembling StA لَفْد) and the use of *fa-* + *ma* + *imperative* or *fa-* + *active participle* פֿימטעלם ‘so know this’, used as an imperative.

(iv) Lexical features. The manuscripts often exhibit a very colloquial content, strongly influenced by the StC variety. It is found occasionally in the partly classicized CAI manuscript, more often in the slightly less classicized KAR manuscript, and in abundance in the more colloquial GAM manuscript. One of many examples is the StC expression *ʔitšawwaš*

xatri *‘ala rūḥi* ‘my mind confused my soul’ found in both GAM and KAR,²⁹⁷ which illustrates the manuscripts’ strong colloquial influence.

There are some NStC lexical variants found in the material, possibly unique to the EgJA variety. These are found because of the plene spelling of *u* in Late Egyptian JA orthography and the preference of *u* over StC *i* (or *a*) in the EgJA variety, e.g. *‘ušrīn* ‘twenty’, *durā^c* ‘cubits’, *‘urbu‘mit ‘alf* ‘four hundred thousand’, *‘unfushum* ‘their souls’, *‘umwāt* ‘the dead (plural)’, *nuṣāra* ‘Christian (plural)’ and the verb pattern *fu‘ul*, all attested in the present material and most probably unique to the NStC or EgJA variant.

Finally, biblical names and quotes are found throughout the manuscripts, albeit not in abundance. There are also attestations of a few Hebrew nouns, like המתים ‘the dead’, גהינם ‘Hell’ and גן עדן ‘Garden of Eden’, the Hebrew-Arabic combination ויא תקותי ‘(and) O, my Hope’ and the Hebrew verb התגיר ‘to convert to Judaism’.

²⁹⁷ *‘I grieved over my soul’*. حزنْتُ على رُوحِي StA ≈ (CAI 11b, 4-5) וחזנת עלה רוחי

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Critical edition concordance

This concordance include folio numbers and line numbers in GAM relative to the corresponding story in KAR and CAI.

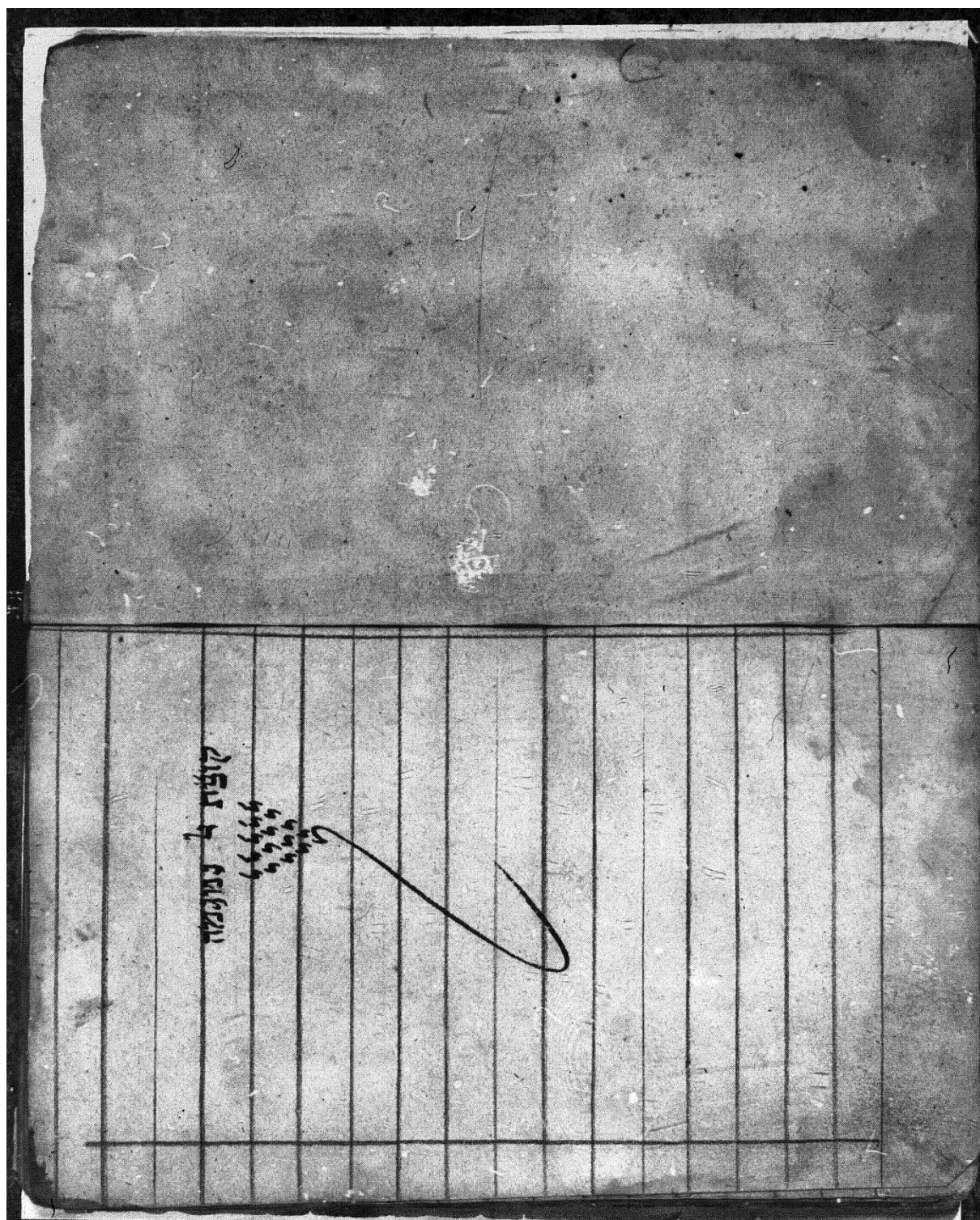
GAM 2a = KAR 1a, 1 - 4
GAM 3a = KAR 1b, 1 - 11; CAI 4a, 1 - 4b, 2
GAM 3b = KAR 1b, 11 - 2a, 8; CAI 4b, 2 - 5a, 4
GAM 4a = KAR 2a, 8 - 2b, 3; CAI 5a, 4 - 5b, 4
GAM 4b = KAR 2b, 3 - 3a, 1; CAI 5b, 4 - 6a, 9
GAM 5a = KAR 3a, 1 - 3a, 11; CAI 6a, 9 - 7a, 2
GAM 5b = KAR 3a, 12 - 3b, 8; CAI 7a, 2 - 7b, 4
GAM 6a = KAR 3b, 8 - 4a, 5; CAI 7b, 3 - 8a, 14
GAM 6b = KAR 4a, 5 - 15; CAI 8a, 14 - 9a, 9
GAM 7a = KAR 4a, 16 - 4b, 11; CAI 9a, 9 - 9b, 11
GAM 7b = KAR 4b, 11 - 5a, 7; CAI 9b, 11 - 10a, 12
GAM 8a = KAR 5a, 7 - 5b, 4; CAI 10a, 12 - 11a, 4
GAM 8b = KAR 5b, 4 - 5b, 14; CAI 11a, 4 - 11b, 6
GAM 9a = KAR 5b, 14 - 6a, 8; CAI 11b, 6 - 12a, 5
GAM 9b = KAR 6a, 9 - 6b, 5; CAI 12a, 5 - 12b, 5
GAM 10a = KAR 6b, 5 - 7a, 1; CAI 12b, 6 - 13a, 9
GAM 10b = KAR 7a, 1 - 7a, 11; CAI 13a, 9 - 13b, 10
GAM 11a = KAR 7a, 11 - 7b, 7; CAI 13b, 10 - 14a, 14
GAM 11b = KAR 7b, 7 - 8a, 6; CAI 14a, 14 - 15a, 4
GAM 12a = KAR 8a, 6 - 8b, 6; CAI 15a, 5 - 15b, 12
GAM 12b = KAR 8b, 6 - 9a, 4; CAI 15b, 13 - 16b, 8
GAM 13a = KAR 9a, 4 - 9a, 13; CAI 16b, 8 - 17a, 9
GAM 13b = KAR 9a, 13 - 9b, 11; CAI 17a, 9 - 17b, 7²⁹⁸
GAM 14a = KAR 9b, 12 - 9b, 19²⁹⁹

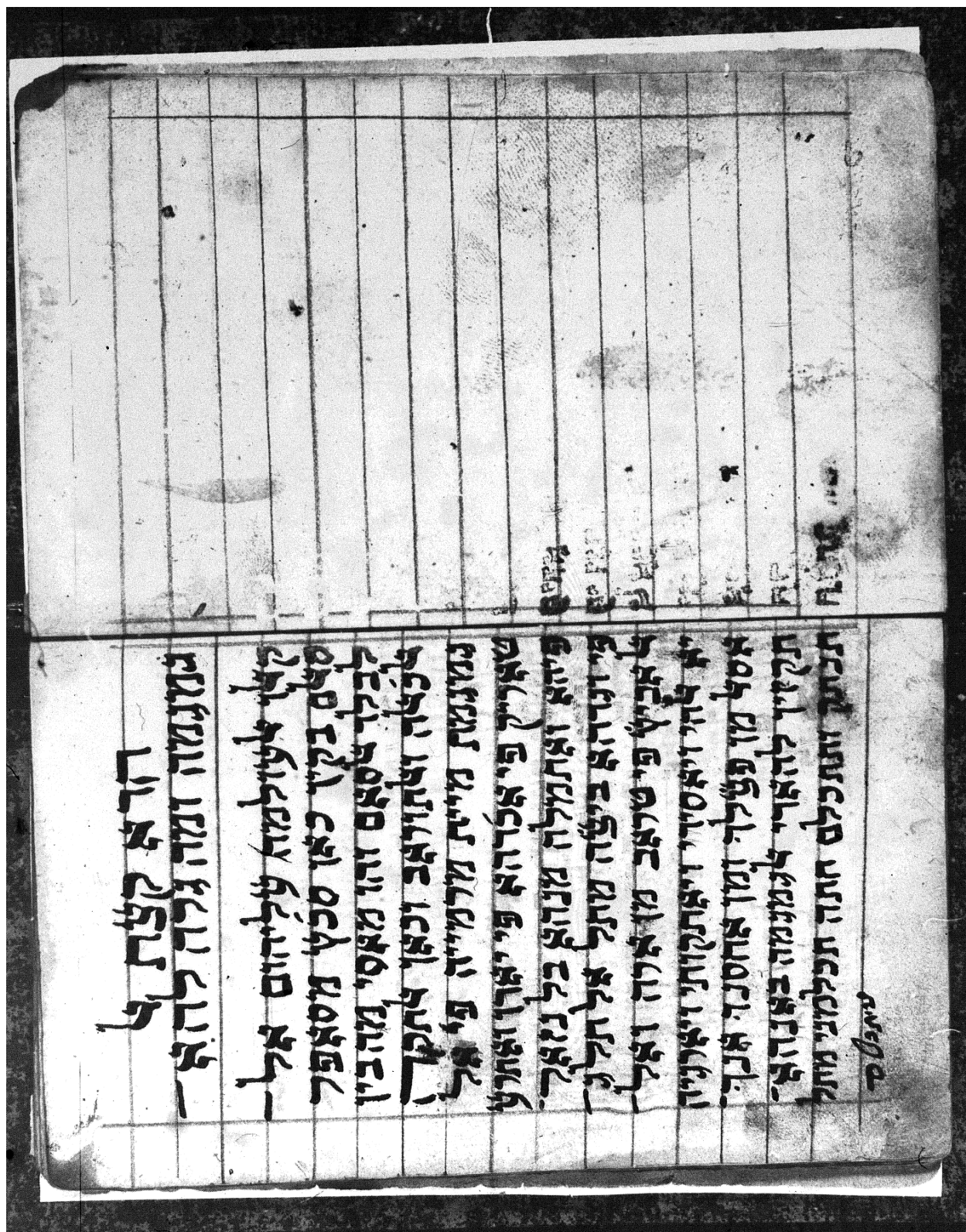
²⁹⁸ CAI ends here.

²⁹⁹ KAR ends here.

Photocopy of *Ramle* - Rabbi Yosef Algamil (GAM)

Folio 1b-2a





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